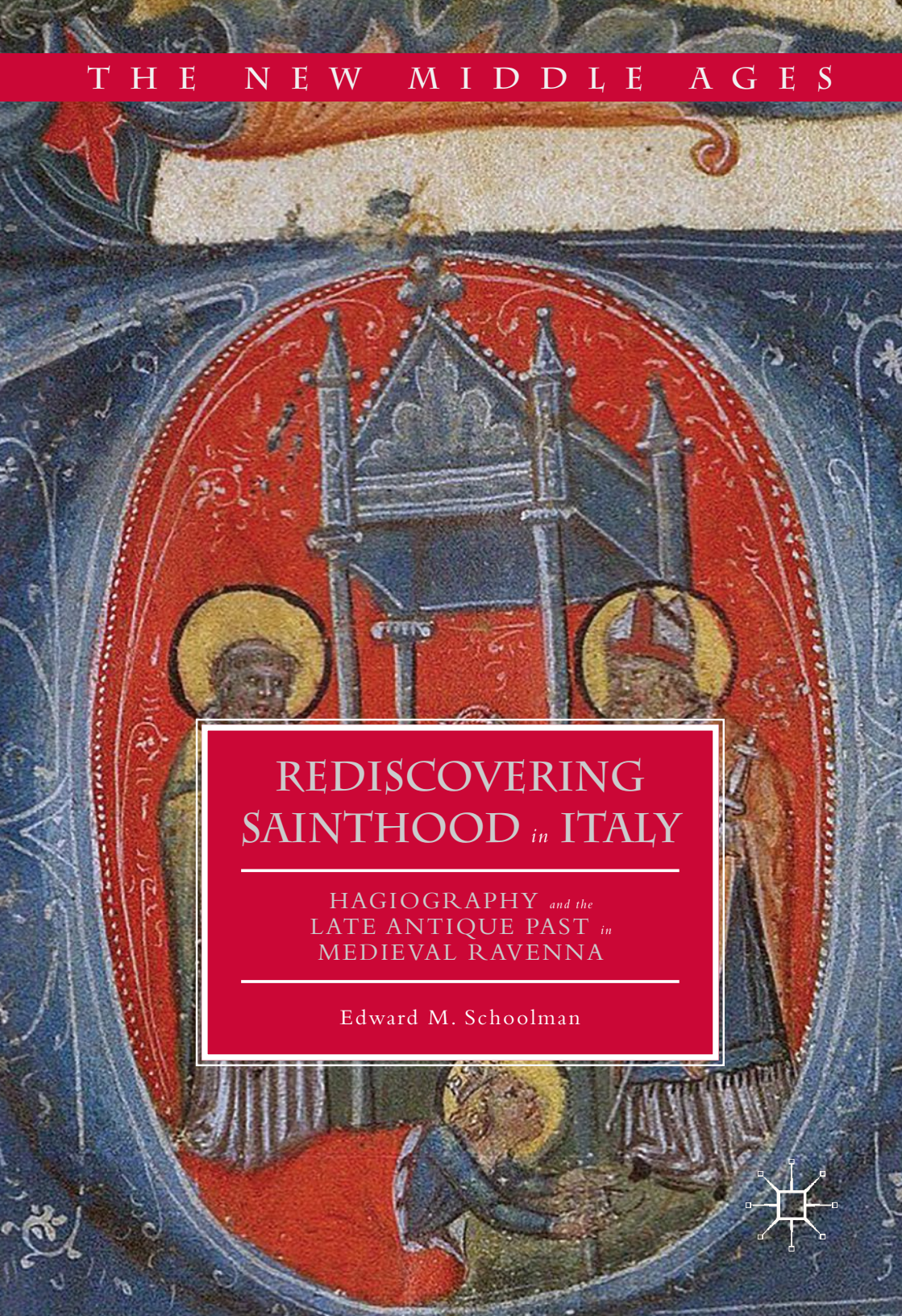
THE NEW MIDDLE AGES



REDISCOVERING SAINTHOOD *in* ITALY

HAGIOGRAPHY *and the* LATE ANTIQUE PAST *in* MEDIEVAL RAVENNA

Edward M. Schoolman

The New Middle Ages

Series Editor

Bonnie Wheeler
English & Medieval Studies
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas, USA

The New Middle Ages is a series dedicated to pluridisciplinary studies of medieval cultures, with particular emphasis on recuperating women's history and on feminist and gender analyses. This peer-reviewed series includes both scholarly monographs and essay collections.

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/14239

Edward M. Schoolman

Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy

Hagiography and the Late Antique Past in Medieval Ravenna

palgrave
macmillan

Edward M. Schoolman
Department of History
University of Nevada
Reno, Nevada, USA

The New Middle Ages
ISBN 978-1-137-60271-8 ISBN 978-1-349-93225-2 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016942661

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration: Courtesy of Istituzione Biblioteca Classense di Ravenna (Italia)

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Nature America Inc. New York

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to a large number of institutions, friends and colleagues for their support during the writing of this book. Early research received financial support from the Scholarly and Creative Activities Grants Committee of College of Liberal Arts and the Noble Endowment of the Department of History at the University of Nevada, Reno, which enabled trips to Italy to consult manuscripts and charters. I am grateful for the help of the staff of the Mathewson-IGT Knowledge Center at UNR (and the members of the interlibrary loan offices, in particular) and those at Historical Studies-Social Science Library at the Institute for Advanced Study, as well and the archivists, librarians, and rare book specialists at the many archives and libraries that hold material on Saint Barbatianus and his cult, especially the staff of the Archivio Storico Diocesano di Ravenna-Cervia. Much of the writing and thinking about the project took place during the summer of 2014 at the National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar on "Reform and Renewal in Medieval Rome" led by Maureen Miller and William North, and during my time as the George William Cottrell, Jr. Member of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Further debts are owed to a number of colleagues and friends who labored to improve this work through careful reading of various sections of the manuscript, including Robert Bartlett, Amelia Thibault, Charles R. Stone, Nicholas Fossland, John Ott, Alison Perchuk, John Howe, Shane Bobrycki, Elena Boeck, Richard Schoolman and the anonymous readers for The New Middle Ages series. Others contributed by introducing

me to the various roles of hagiography in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, pointing me in the direction of new material, or discussing some of the more intriguing problems of the *Vita Barbatiani* and the larger project, including William North, Erik Inglis, Kostis Karpozilos, Nikos Tsivikis, Sarah Whitten, Claudia Rapp, Patrick Geary, the participants of the NEH summer seminar and especially the members of the IAS in medieval studies during the 2014–2015 academic year who provided regular feedback: Robert Bartlett, Giles Constable, David Crouch, Vincent Debiais, Ottó Gecser, Sara McDougall, Amy Singer, Vlada Stankovic, Andrea Sterk and Thomas Wallnig. Still others deserve thanks who shared their work on hagiography or Ravenna at various times during this project, including Deborah Deliyannis, Thomas Brown, Enrico Cirelli, Maya Maskarinec, Arthur Urbano and Kate Craig. Parts of chapters 4, 5, and 6 are derived from material originally appearing in "Engineered Holy Authority: The Creation and Diffusion of the vita of Saint Barbatianus of Ravenna," in J. Leemans, B. Meijns and S. Boodts (eds.), *Shaping Authority* (Leiden, 2016). I ask forgiveness from those I inadvertently overlooked and claim the errors as mine alone.

Finally, this book could never have existed without the love and patience of Erica and Jack.

Contents

1 Barbatianus in Late Antiquity 1
- *1.1 Locating Barbatianus in the Fifth Century* 1
- *1.2 "Foreign" Saints in the Late Roman Capital* 4
- *1.3 Saints in the Sphere of Galla Placidia* 5
- *1.4 The Other* Barbatiani *in Late Antiquity* 13

2 The Contexts of Medieval Ravenna 21
- *2.1 The Legend of Barbatianus from the Sixth to the Ninth Century* 21
- *2.2 Politics of Tenth-Century Ravenna: Archbishops* 24
- *2.3 Politics of Tenth-Century Ravenna: Emperors* 30
- *2.4 Politics of Tenth-Century Ravenna: Nobles* 32
- *2.5 The Monastic Communities and Monastic Reform in Tenth-Century Ravenna* 33
- *2.6 The* Monasterium *of Barbatianus* 37

3 The Hagiographic Landscape of Medieval Ravenna 49
- *3.1 Approaching Ravenna's Hagiographic Landscape* 49
- *3.2 Apollinaris and the Ravennate Saints before the Tenth Century* 51
- *3.3 Hagiographic Production of the Tenth Century* 56
- *3.4 The Long Perspective of the* Vita et Inventio Sancti Probi 60
- *3.5 New Monastic Hagiography in Eleventh-Century Ravenna* 66

4 The History of the *Vita Barbatiani* 77
4.1 History of the Vita Barbatiani 77
4.2 Dating the Vita Barbatiani 80

5 Content and Composition of the *Vita Barbatiani* 91
5.1 Content of the Vita Barbatiani 91
5.2 The Composition of the Vita Barbatiani 97
5.3 The Miracles of Barbatianus 105

6 Barbatianus in the Later Middle Ages 125
6.1 Barbatianus in the Eleventh Century and the Sermon of Peter Damian 126
6.2 The Legend of Barbatianus in the Twelfth Century and Beyond 129
6.3 Noble and Monastic Diffusion of the Vita Barbatiani 132

7 Conclusions 139
7.1 Creating Local Saints 144
7.2 Barbatianus as Survivor 147

Appendix 1 155

Appendix 2 167

Appendix 3 177

Bibliography 183

Index 199

List of Abbreviations

BHL	*Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols, Brusseles Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901; BHLms: Index analytique des Catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques latins publiés par les Bollandistes. http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/.
LP	*Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris 1955–1957; Trans. Raymond Davis, *The Book of the Pontiffs*, Liverpool 1989.
LPR	Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis.* Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. edited by Deborah M. Deliyannis, Turnout, 2006; Trans. Deborah M. Deliyannis, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, Washington, D.C. 2004.
MGH	*Monumenta germaniae historica*
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1844–1864.
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I-III*, ed J. R. Martindale, Cambridge 1971–1992.
VB	*Vita sancti Barbatani*, ed. Francesco Lanzoni. "Gli"Acta s. Barbatiani Presbyteri et Confessoris. *Rivista di Scienze Storiche* 6 (1909): 635–58; 712–34.

List of Figures

Fig. 5.1 Galla Placidia obtaining the sandal of John the Evangelists with the aid of Barbatianus from the *Tractatus hedificationis et constructionis ecclesie Sancti Iohannis Evangeliste* (Ravenna, Istituzione Biblioteca Classense, ms. 406, fol 1r) 108

Fig. 5.2 Galla Placidia, John the Evangelist and Barbatianus in central panal of the tympanum at the gate of San Giovanni Evangelista (San Giovanni Evangelista, Ravenna: photo Walter Borghini) 109

Fig. 5.3 Saqqara monastery, Cell A, north wall (photo J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara II: 1906–1907* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1908), pl. XLIV) 110

Fig. 5.4 Ivory depiction of the Imperial Family of Otto I at the Feet of Christ (Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata; Comune di Milano, all rights reserved: photo Saporetti 2004) 111

Fig. 5.5 Mosaic of Emperor Justinian presenting a gift to Archbishop Maximian (San Vitale, Ravenna: photo Arthur P. Urbano) 112

Fig. 5.6 Mosaic of Bishop Ecclesius presenting the church of San Vitale to Christ (San Vitale, Ravenna: photo Arthur P. Urbano) 113

List of Tables

Table 2.1	Archbishops of Ravenna (ninth and tenth centuries)	25
Table 5.1	Contents of the *Vita* of Barbatianus following the manuscript chapters of the Lanzoni edition	92
Table 5.2	Textual variants to the introduction of the healing of Geddeus	102
Table 5.3	Introduction to the miracle of Minas	103

Introduction

The interior of the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, dedicated in 547, contains the most famous mosaics of Late Antiquity. There are depictions of the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora with their retinues above either side of the altar, and in the apse, an enthroned, youthful Christ flanked on one side by Vitalis receiving his crown of martyrdom and the other by the bishop Ecclesius offering in miniature the very church he founded. Completed in the years following the Byzantine conquest of Italy in 540, its decorative scheme tied together the power of the imperial family, the important role of the bishops of the Church of Ravenna in political and religious spheres and the prominent position of Ravenna's saints, all in a work sponsored by wealthy local elites.

The messages conveyed in the mosaics of San Vitale were not unique in late antique Ravenna. The city had known imperial and royal power, from the empress Galla Placidia to the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, which left a lasting legacy in the building and patronage of churches, baptisteries, palaces and tombs; physical structures that made significant contributions to the urban fabric. The city had its share of powerful bishops (and archbishops after the Byzantine reconquest of the sixth century): Peter Chrysologus, who preached in the presence of Galla Placidia and the imperial family in the fifth century; Ecclesius, responsible for the foundation of many of the most lavish late antique churches; and Maximianus, handpicked by the emperor Justinian to lead the Church of Ravenna as its first archbishop. The saints from Ravenna were widely recognized too, perhaps none more visible than Apollinaris, claimed as a follower of the apostle Peter and founder of the Church of Ravenna, whose cult spread

north of the Alps in the early Middle Ages and even became relevant in Rome, where according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (hereafter, *LP*) in the seventh century, Pope Honorius built an oratory dedicated to him in St. Peter's Basilica.[1] Finally, the power of the city's elites, notably through the wealth of the banker Julianus Argentarius, was frequently put to use building churches to support the cults of these powerful local saints.[2]

The golden age of Ravenna faded even before the eighth century and the collapse of Byzantine rule in central Italy. In the seventh century, only renovations of existing structures are noted in the histories of the city under the Byzantine exarchs, a situation very different from the massive building projects completed during the reign of Emperor Justinian.[3] After the conquest of the city in 751 by the Lombards, the archbishops took over further administrative roles and focused more on survival and limited independence rather than the promotion of the city's glorious past. In the 840s, the cleric Agnellus wrote a history of the bishops and archbishops of Ravenna, known as the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (hereafter, *LPR*), in which he tried to explain how prominent the city had once been and how far it had fallen. In one of the last chapters of his work, he described the beating and mistreatment of the archbishop George at the hands of soldiers of the Frankish king Charles the Bald, the grandson of Charlemagne.[4] This episode was far removed from the close ties Ravenna's bishops previously held with imperial power, such as Peter Chrysologus's sermons in the presence of Galla Placidia or Maximianus's solidarity with Justinian. This change was also apparent in the treatment of Ravenna's monuments. While Galla Placidia and Justinian had sponsored and encouraged the construction of churches in Ravenna, Charlemagne himself contributed to the decline of the city and took part in its spoliation. Although the city would survive relatively intact into the eighth and ninth centuries, it did so as a shadow of its former self, with memorials to its once-imperial status only partially visible in the landscape of churches and monuments, texts and memories.

By the end of the tenth century, however, the position of Ravenna in the political sphere of Northern Italy had once again changed significantly. Due in part to its past roles, it became the object of renewed imperial interest and was home to powerful and well-placed archbishops, newly refurbished monuments and a local elite actively involved in the city's religious and political life. However, contemporary study of the history of Ravenna during this period has been relatively overlooked for at least four reasons. First, unlike the almost continuous projects of the fifth and sixth centuries,

no major new monuments were constructed in the city (although many older buildings were repurposed). Second, the central political figures of this period, in this case the Ottonian emperors, were more closely associated with other areas under their control. Third, the saints rediscovered and promoted in the second half of the tenth and first decades of the eleventh century never achieved the widespread popularity of cults and festivals outside of the region the way that Ravenna's patron saint and first bishop Apollinaris had. Finally, the various local leaders who had emerged from competing aristocratic families would never gain the levels of material wealth known by the elite in the late antique city. Although as a medieval city Ravenna recovered some of its relevance, it never regained its former status and glory as an imperial capital.

The story of Barbatianus, a hermit, monk, confessor to an empress, and holy healer whose cult was promoted through a Latin biography known as the *Vita Barbatiani*, composed in the tenth century and built on an ephemeral legend, ties together these two Ravennas: the well-studied late antique capital, home to the imperial family, the Ostrogothic kings, the Byzantine exarchs, magnificently constructed and decorated churches, famous bishops and wealthy bankers and the medieval city, with its long-reigning and imperially allied archbishops, new monastic institutions, factious noble and aristocratic families and a temporary home to Ottonian emperors and church reformers.

The *vita* describes the travels of Barbatianus, an easterner, first to Rome and then to Ravenna, where he is responsible for miraculous cures of the sick and injured. It places him in the world of the empress Galla Placidia, who resided in Ravenna from 417 to 450, and Peter Chrysologus, who served as the city's bishop from ca. 431 to 450. As bishop, Peter was responsible for dedicating some of the early churches in Ravenna, but he is most famous for his many surviving sermons, which deal with biblical or liturgical topics. These works were known, although not commonly read, in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, Placidia was a far more important figure: the daughter of Emperor Theodosius I and mother of Valentinian III, she took an active role in supporting the construction of churches in Ravenna and Rome and wrote letters to members of her imperial family in Constantinople on behalf of Pope Leo in support of pro-Chalcedonian positions.[5] These facts were never forgotten, and her efforts continued to be celebrated. In many medieval histories and hagiographies, Galla Placidia was featured prominently, including the best-known work from early medieval Ravenna, the *LPR* of Agnellus.[6]

Unlike Peter Chrysologus and Galla Placidia, however, Barbatianus left only a shadow in the enduring memories and monuments of the late antique city. The only textual trace of his legend from before the creation of his *vita* appeared in *LPR* of Agnellus, which described his burial by Galla Placidia and Peter Chrysologus, composed more than 400 years after his death in the middle of the ninth century. As the fortunes of Ravenna faded in the eighth and ninth centuries, so did interest in Barbatianus.

With the resurgence of the fortunes of the city in the tenth century, new interest in the legend of the saint followed. The existence of a church dedicated in his honor and the brief mentions of Barbatianus by Agnellus became the kernels for a full biography, enhanced and expanded with additional material and crafted into a *vita* that firmly sets his life in the fifth century. In an effort to provide this new biography with a guise of legitimate spiritual power and place it historically in the final years of the Western Roman Empire and Ravenna's late antique past, the author appropriated elements from a variety of sources: miraculous stories from a seventh-century hagiographic text describing the wondrous healings performed by the relics of Saints Cyrus and John in Alexandria, composed in Greek by Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, historical material from the papal *LP* and other segments from the *LPR* and a *vita* of Pope Sylvester.[7] Combined with new material written specifically about Barbatianus, the integration of selections from these texts offered a sense of authenticity to the *vita*, a work composed more than four centuries after the events it purportedly describes.

In its final form, the *vita* highlights a number of Barbatianus's attributes; his eastern origins, eremitic and monastic lifestyle, humility, close relationship to Galla Placidia and miraculous cures, primarily set within the cities of Rome and Ravenna. These various elements of the vita would have appealed to a number of diverse groups in the resurgent city of tenth-century Ravenna. Those seeking recognition from the Ottonians by demonstrating the legitimate place of imperial patronage in the city would have been strongly attracted to the appearance of Placidia in the *vita* and her connection to the local holy man. This attraction coincided with the interest of the Ottonian dynasty in their own versions of an imperial revival, a *renovatio imperii*, and the powerful role of women in their court. Those with membership in revived urban monastic foundations would have been drawn to the fact the Barbatianus was portrayed as a monk interested in establishing order through rule, engaging with the community, and practicing hermit-like asceticism. Finally, for the aristocratic families in Ravenna,

Barbatianus was seen as an essentially Ravennate saint with connections to two local churches and a monastic community: a saint who appealed to their growing sense of local identity and pride, defined as *campanilismo*.[8]

The story of Barbatianus presented in his tenth-century *vita* was expanded to incorporate more than just his connection to the empress Galla Placidia noted in the *LPR*; it also elaborated qualities that addressed concerns of a newly resurgent and diverse city, such as his miraculous power to heal the sick, his travels from the East to Rome and then ultimately Ravenna, and his urban ascetic lifestyle. The core aim of this book is to connect these facets together to explore the world in which he may have lived; to explain the appeal and development of the *vita* of Barbatianus in the tenth century, and the means by which it appropriated and fashioned a useable view of the late antique past; and to examine the political, religious and cultural contexts of medieval Ravenna which produced it. The fact that the legend of Barbatianus was rediscovered and rehabilitated, and that his relics were recognized as sacred and worthy of a *vita*, coincided with important shifts in the political and cultural structures of Northern Italy at this time; most notably the decline of the Carolingian dynasty in the ninth century, and the rise of the Ottonians in the tenth and the growing power of the papacy, which had alternated between challenging Ravenna's episcopal-centered identity since Late Antiquity and supporting the city against greater threats in the early Middle Ages. The legend of Barbatianus, his *vita* and his cult bring into focus the challenges Ravenna faced in the tenth century and demonstrate how the city and its citizens relied on the lens of memory and the conceptualization of Ravenna's glorious past to cope with its newly (and ultimately temporary) regained position of relevance.

That an anonymous author wrote the *vita* of Barbatianus in the tenth century was in no way out of the ordinary. While early hagiography in the West and Italy in particular was generally the work of those who used their positions, often as bishops or abbots, to promote saints beneficial to their institutions, later *vitae* also grew organically out of the need to explain or promote various venerative practices or newly established institutions. Indeed, saints without hagiographers became trapped by the limited range of oral dissemination and the frequent modifications that come with that mode of promulgation.

Writing the lives of saints also takes on a critical importance in their cult. While the relics, the shrines and the days and festivals of commemoration made real the "*praesentia*, the physical presence of the holy … the greatest

blessing that a late-antique Christian could enjoy," as Peter Brown noted, it was through the recording of the *vita* that a saint's power, *potentia*, could be continuously revisited, revived and ultimately controlled.[9] This phenomenon is put to use by Gregory of Tours, who frequently wrote about the conversion of sites associated with non-Christian practice in Gaul to places occupied by Christian saints as a means for celebrating and reliving the victory of Christianity over paganism by permanently fixing the new identities of these locations.

In the case of Italy, from the fourth century through the sixth century, specific hagiographic works were written to promote, elevate and commemorate the most important early leaders of the Church. Paulinus's *vita* of Ambrose, Ennodius of Pavia's *vitae* of Epiphianius and Antonius and Eugippius's *vita* of Severinus contributed to a corpus of hagiographic literature focused on the spiritual and political *potentia* of their subjects.[10] In Rome, the anonymous sixth-century serial biography of the popes, the *LP*, played a similar role, although with a greater interest in the patronage, clerical appointments and euergitism of the popes.

Although Ravenna was home to a number of late antique authors, including Boethius, Cassiodorius and Peter Chrysologus, there was no concentrated effort toward composing hagiography specifically for the city. The closest approximation may have been the work of Peter Chrysologus, who composed sermons in celebration of the feasts of John the Baptist, Apollinaris, Cyprian of Carthage and Stephen; however, these are some of the shortest and least compelling of his works and demonstrate little interest in the cult of saints outside of their pastoral use.[11] The *LPR* of Agnellus, like its papal namesake, was fixated on the holders of the episcopal see and less concerned with miracles (although it does relate some of them) than with political maneuvering within the city and region, as well as the ultimate decline of Ravenna.

In the tenth century and into the eleventh century, the changes in the social, cultural and political situation in Ravenna led to a blossoming of hagiographic writing. The texts were authored anonymously and designed either to commemorate contemporary events or with other specific objectives in mind. Some hagiographies were written to promote bishops both long forgotten and already well known through the translations of their relics, as in the case of the tenth-century *vita et inventio* of the bishop Probus, a text which included descriptions of the discovery (*inventio*) of the saint's relics, as well as their *translatio* or movement or transfer of relics, along with the relics of the other early bishops Aderitus and Calocerus, and the *translatio* of

Apollinaris. Other texts were written for martyrs with preexisting churches and shrines, including Vitalis and Valeria, the martyred parents of Gervasius and Protasius, and Ursicinus, all of whom had fictionalized biographies so as to offer a legitimate early Christian past for Ravenna.[12]

The facts concerning the actual life of a man living in the fifth century who became the model for the legend or sacred biography of Barbatianus, one who might even have had contact with Galla Placidia in both Rome and Ravenna, are ultimately unreachable, as what we know about his life is filtered, amended and recreated to such a degree that what is left is a product of the tenth century with inclusions from earlier periods. The life that is created, despite obvious reliance on earlier works, is not a forgery in the modern or even medieval sense; while we might understand it as fictional, it was created to explain practices, images and dedications extant in the tenth century but which had lost some of their memorializing purpose, and to react to new situations in Ravenna. Barbatianus proves to be exceptional within these contexts due to the fact that he was neither a martyr nor a bishop, but rather a healer who lived a hermit-like existence within the confines of the city; his "creation" was informed by both the limited surviving knowledge of the saint and the external pressures of the tenth century.

The following chapters focus on the history of Barbatianus; from his life in the fifth century through the various texts written about him and their afterlife, seeking to explore the history of the communities connected to both his cult and these texts. The first chapter examines the historic late antique setting of Barbatianus and his life: the world of saints and holy men in fifth-century Rome and Ravenna surrounding the empress Galla Placidia (especially during her regency from 425 to 437), and the appearances of others named "Barbatianus" in Italy. It provides contexts for the background of Barbatianus and his Syrian origins, which evoke many of the other early saints of Ravenna, notably Apollinaris, who first brought Christianity to the city. The chapter further examines the saint's connection to the empress Galla Placidia; her piety, activities and patronage of the city; as well as the wider context of the circle of holy men with whom she surrounded herself in the years after the ascension of her son Valentinian III to the imperial throne, including Pope Leo I, Peter Chrysologus and Bishop Germanus of Auxerre. The inclusion of Galla Placidia is fundamental to the relevance, survival and ultimately the usefulness of the *Vita Barbatiani* in the tenth century. This connection cannot be understated, as the relationship elevated Barbatianus to the same status as the other well-documented church leaders and holy men connected to Galla Placidia's patronage.

The second chapter focuses on the political, social and religious contexts of medieval Ravenna and begins by tracing the development of the cult of Barbatianus from Late Antiquity to the ninth century and the saint's appearance in the *LPR*. The chapter further considers the environment which led to the creation and promotion of the *vita*, including the emperors, archbishops and nobles as political actors and the growing number of urban monastic institutions in Ravenna (and early attempts at their reform). This may be especially true for the small monastic community attached to the church dedicated to both John the Baptist and Barbatianus, which was led by abbots belonging to some of the most important noble families in the city. The energies involved in creating a saint suited for imperial consumption, aristocratically inflected monastic interest and local pride were at play in the formation of the *vita* of Barbatianus.

In the third chapter, the aspects that make the *vita* of Barbatianus so atypical are highlighted through an investigation of the hagiographic landscape of medieval Ravenna, made up of the accumulation of other saints and cults within the region. Considering the lack of new hagiography written during the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, the flourishing of these texts in the last half of the tenth century proves to be remarkable for both its volume and its variety. These texts include a *passio* of an early martyr Ursicinus, the *translatio* of the relics Ravenna's first bishop Apollinaris and the *vita et inventio* of Probus, an early bishop whose relics traveled across churches of the Ravennate landscape. (In the century after the *Vita Barbatiani* was written, new types of contemporary saints associated with local eremitic movements became the focus of hagiography; in the case of Ravenna, this was epitomized by the *vita* composed for Romuald.) These hagiographic texts illuminate the ways in which authors in Ravenna placed their emphasis on the power of relics translated into the city's cathedral, the role of the archbishop and the importance of reform in the tenth century, while in the eleventh, focused entirely on the latter. They offer another approach to explore how hagiography was constructed within the cultural and political framework of the period, but also highlight the *vita* of Barbatianus's unique reliance on the city's late antique heritage.

The fourth chapter delves into the text of the vita of Barbatianus as it has been preserved in the manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (a list of which appear in the appendix). It presents an overview of the history of the surviving sources on his life, from those that date before the *vita*, including the *LPR*, to those appearing after it, from the sermon offered by Peter Damian in the 1040s to the first critical edition of the

text in 1909, tracing the various ways in which the legend is preserved and accepted into larger hagiographic collections. The chapter also considers the many issues surrounding the dating of the *vita*, and considering both the internal and external evidence offers support for the last quarter of the tenth century.

The fifth examines the content and composition of the *vita*, focusing on the narrative arc of Barbatianus's life as it would have been understood by a tenth-century audience, and taking into consideration the miracles specific to the saint, including his part in obtaining a relic of John the Evangelist's sandal with Galla Placidia. In terms of the composition, the chapter surveys the original material alongside the various sources used to draft the tenth-century *vita*, including sections from the *LPR*, *LP* of Rome and miracles derived from a Latin translation of the *miracula* of Cyrus and John written by Sophronius.[13] Exploring the fashioning of the *Vita Barbatiani* illuminates the craft of writing hagiography in the tenth century and demonstrates the author's method of constructing a coherent narrative with limited and diverse material from the sources available.

The sixth chapter considers the later use and function of the *vita* of Barbatianus and the diffusion of his legend into a wide range of forms: the manuscript tradition of the *vita*, the sermon on his feast day by Peter Damian, his appearance in the *Agiographia* of Hugutius of Pisa and the *Tractatus edificationis*. The widespread appearance of the *vita* and the legend of Barbatianus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries suggest that the promotion of the saint in the tenth century created a large regional market for Barbatianus. Presented in the 1040s on the feast of Barbatianus, the sermon of Peter Damian focuses on his humility and healing miracles rather than his role as spiritual advisor to Galla Placidia, pointing to shift in the value of the saint away from his role as imperial supporter or monastic leader. Without the relevance of the imperial connection, the importance of the saint was challenged by others who were known for their skills in healing as well, leaving the relics and *vita* of Barbatianus as artifacts still valued due to his position in Ravenna, but lacking the practical potency of more established and more miraculous saints.

The connection between noble families and the patterns of distribution of manuscripts containing Barbatianus's *vita* are also explored in Chap. 6. The survival of the life in manuscripts from across Tuscany and Romagna, and even further afield, points to the adoption of the saint into a hagiographic corpus spread through monasteries established and supported by kin groups with roots in Ravenna. This is best demonstrated by the

appearance of the *vita* of Barbatianus in a manuscript from San Fedele in Poppi, one of the central fortified sites held by the Guidi family, whose origins are traced directly to tenth-century Ravenna. The chapter concludes by offering an assessment of the *vita* given the history of the legend of Barbatianus over a millennium.

Barbatianus was ultimately one of the more successful and widely known of Ravenna's "native" saints; the conclusion of this volume addresses the role that local saints can play in comparison to those with widely distributed cults and examines the problems of promoting previously uncelebrated or unknown saints within a wider community.

The rationale behind exploring the context of Barbatianus's *vita*, not simply as a text about a saint but as text connected to audiences across a temporal and geographic spectrum is simple: "not only the authoring of texts but also their copying and dissemination, was intentional action, even if its consequences, the uses to which these texts were put, were not intended by the producers."[14] The broad reading of hagiographic texts and their contexts has come to the fore as a means to understand the life and later impact of these literary texts in the creation of a "useable past" and the various concerns which generated them.[15] In this case, the world of late tenth-century Ravenna, its political climate, its monastic institutions, its hagiography and its history created the environment to foster the composition of the *Vita Barbatiani*; changes in the eleventh century would leave it as an artifact of its period.

This study takes a holistic approach to the v*ita* of Barbatianus, using it as a tool to understand the ties between Late Antiquity and the tenth century in Ravenna, and the connection between history, the creation of hagiography and promotion of saints, and the communities and audiences they find. By analyzing the development of the life, its historical context and role as a "historiographic" text and its impact in Romagna, Tuscany and beyond, we are able to uncover the world surrounding the history of Barbatianus, his image and *vita* and the use of the memory of the saint after his life in the fifth century through the twelfth.[16] As designed, the book is both a "biography of a legend" in Late Antiquity and the history of a *vita*, its uses and diffusion in the tenth century and beyond, addressing the political, religious and social contexts in the development and life of a single text.

Notes

1. *LP* 72.3-4.
2. S. J. B. Barnish, "The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius: Late Antique Banking and the Mediterranean Economy," *Byzantion* 55 (1985).
3. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 277–99.
4. *LPR* 174.
5. On the life of Galla Placidia, see Stewart Irvin Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Hagith Sivan, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress*, Women in antiquity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Joyce E. Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress: Galla Placidia Rules at the Twilight of the Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).
6. On the memory of Galla Placidia, see Mauro Donnini, "Galla Placidia nelle fonti latine medievali, umanistiche e rinascimentali," *Studi medievali* 35 (1994).
7. Sophronius became the patriarch of Jerusalem 634; he died in 638, the year after the conquest of the city by the Caliph 'Umar.
8. Thomas S. Brown, "*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*: Agnellus of Ravenna's View of the Past," in *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350–900*, ed. C. Holdsworth (Exeter: University Publication, 1986). The connections between Ravenna's nobles and the city's hagiography point to the spread of cult veneration along with the support of specific monasteries in adjacent regions of Ravennate families; Barbatianus is just one of many "transappinine" saints whose cults and feasts are also established in Tuscany. Focusing primarily on Luca, Gianni Bergamaschi has demonstrated the regular importation of a vast range of saints from other areas of northern Italy and even beyond the Alps. Gianni Bergamaschi, "Culti transappenninici in Toscana: testimonianze liturgiche e agio-toponomastiche," in *Tra due Romee: Storia, itinerati e cultura del pellegrinaggio in val d'Orcia*, ed. Renato Stopani and Fabrizio Vanni (Rome: Centro studi Romei, 2014).
9. Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 88.
10. Ambrose and Epiphianius were bishops, and Antonius and Severinus were monks. Stéphane Gioanni, "Hagiographie d'Italie (300–550): II. Les Vies de saints latines composées en Italie de la Paix constantinienne au milieu du VIe siècle," in *Hagiographies V*, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).
11. Peter Chrysologus, *Sermones* 127, 128, 129 and 154.
12. Ursicinus, Vitalis and Valeria, along with Gervasius and Protasius, are the only Ravennate saints (although with a Milanese connection) to appear in

a procession of saints and martyrs in the clerestory of the church of Sant'Apollinare; see Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 167–8. In addition to these figures, the bishop Severus is the recipient of another edition of his *vita* in the eleventh century. This is complicated by the fact that the relics had been taken to Mainz, and that a body of hagiography, including an additional *vita* and a *translatio*, had been composed to celebrate the theft.

13. Remarkably, the *vita* preserves a seventh-century translation of the miracles by a papal official named Boniface Consiliarius once thought to be lost, rather than the ninth-century version of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. On the identity of Boniface, see: Walter Berschin, "Bonifatius Consiliarius: Ein römisher Übersetzer in der byzantinischen Epoche des Papsttums," in *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1990).
14. Patrick J. Geary, "Saints, Scholars, and Society: The Elusive Goal," in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1996), 15.
15. For an overview of current scholarship with a focus on "how writings transformed stories of saints in order to serve the present," see: Anna Taylor, "Hagiography and Early Medieval History," *Religion Compass* 7 (2013): 4.
16. Although this book considers hagiography as a genre, the texts which incorporated the stories about saints and their relics served many purposes in the Middle Ages, not all of them relating to the saints at hand, and transforming their meanings over time. Indeed, "there can be no simple definition of 'hagiography' or of historiography that does not conscientiously take into account changing political contexts." Felice Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographical' Texts as Historical Narrative," *Viator* 25 (1994): 97.

CHAPTER 1

Barbatianus in Late Antiquity

1.1 Locating Barbatianus in the Fifth Century

Many of the monks, holy healers and bishops of the fifth century who attained the status of saint had contemporary or near-contemporary biographies written by acolytes in order to herald their sanctity and promote their writings, works, shines and relics. For example, Germanus, the bishop of Auxerre who is discussed at length later in this chapter, was worthy of a biography by his follower Constantius of Lyon 30 years after his death in 480; his cult was first connected to a shrine outside of Auxerre, and in the sixth century became the spiritual nucleus of a monastery and church under the control of the city's bishop, which later came to prominence for its school during the Carolingian renaissance.[1] In fifth-century Italy, with the political turmoil accompanying the waning power of the Western Roman Emperors and incursion by various waves of invaders, the main foci of contemporary hagiography were popes, bishops and clerics, or at the very least, references to their sanctity.

For Pope Leo I, who served during the last years of the Western Roman Empire from 440 to 461, and forged a new identity for Rome as a spiritual, religious and political capital, his legacy was built on many levels. Beyond the physical improvements he left in Rome, he was remembered through a collection of his letters and sermons, the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine, who served in his administration, as well as the work of a later hagiographer, who described in miraculous terms how he repelled the forces of

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2_1

Attila.[2] Further still, the bishops Petronius of Bologna and Paulinus of Nola, contemporaries of Leo I, are described not only for their writings but also for their holy lifestyles in Gennadius's continuation of Jerome's *On the Lives of Illustrious Men*, a text which appeared at the end of the fifth century.[3]

Unlike these examples, whatever remains of the historical fifth-century Barbatianus is only visible through substantially later sources, primarily the limited mention of the saint in the ninth-century *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (*LPR)* and the core biographical material of the tenth-century *Vita Barbatiani*, which positioned the saint in Rome and Ravenna during the first half of the fifth century. In his *vita*, he was described as a holy man and wonderworker (*faciens mirabilia*) originally from Antioch, Syria, who arrived in Rome with a colleague just after the installation of Boniface as pope and the end of the schism with Eulalius (an event included in the *vita* and derived from the *Liber pontificalis* [*LP*]), around the year 418. Once he was established in Rome, his miraculous capabilities were discovered by Galla Placidia, who solicited him to heal one of her household servants, after which the *vita* lists a number of his miracles (taken from Sophronius's *miracula* of Cyrus and John); only after many wonders were performed did Galla Placidia return to Ravenna with Barbatianus in tow. After helping the empress obtain a relic of John the Evangelist in Ravenna, Barbatianus continued his miracle working (reflecting those originally described by Sophronius), only to eventually pass away: his body taken by the Bishop Peter Chrysologus, embalmed with spices as the relics of saints were treated, and placed in a tomb next to the altar of St. John the Baptist, placing the date of his death at some point between 431 and 450.

The veracity of this biographical account cannot be ascertained; the fifth-century life of Barbatianus is shrouded by his parallels with Ravenna's patron saint, the first-century Apollinaris, and many aspects of the tenth-century *vita* were borrowings from other texts used to establish and confirm his sanctity, not to "render a chronological record … but rather to facilitate the growth of the cult."[4] Yet the context of the fifth century remained essential for the value of the *vita* in the tenth century as well as the history of Ravenna; in exploring the world in which he was placed by his initial anonymous hagiographers, the later refashioning of the city's imperial past becomes clearer. It was a period in which the entire Italian peninsula was strained by the arrival of foreign armies, most notably the Visigoths; with Roman forces led by foreign soldiers, like the general Stilicho; and a diminished and itinerant

imperial household, pulled between Rome, Milan and Ravenna, a fact also noted in the *vita* itself.[5] While a number of different non-Latin identities emerged in Italy during this period, there was no mention of non-Romans in the *vita* outside of Timothy, the Syrian holy man with whom Barbatianus traveled to Rome, the healing of "Graecus, a Gaul by birth," and Barbatianus himself.[6]

The arrival of Barbatianus to Rome from Antioch described in the opening of his *vit*a would not have been especially unusual, as Ravenna and Rome were focal points for traveling bishops and holy men from the East, as well as for bureaucrats and émigrés. For Ravenna especially, which counted all of the early bishops from Apollinaris through Peter Chrysologus as "Syrians" either by birth or by family origin, the origins of Barbatianus would have seemed perfectly in place.[7] Like the city's first bishop, who is introduced in the *LPR* of Agnellus as "Antiochene by birth" and "educated in Greek and Latin letters," we can assume that Barbatianus would have fit the same mold given the similarities of his background.[8] This stereotype had been long established, and even since the time of the Roman principate, central Italy had been a focal point of immigration from Syria to such an extent that Juvenal mockingly observed that "the Syrian Orontes has flowed into the Tiber."[9] The attraction of Italy would have remained strong throughout the fifth century, especially given the tumult among various factions and devotions inflaming the city of Antioch.[10]

One of the major aspects of life for Barbatianus in the fifth century was his connection to Galla Placidia, who after being freed from her involuntary first marriage to Ataulf, king of the Visigoths, established her court in Italy with her imperial kin: her son Valentinian III and her half-brother Honorius, along with her second husband, Constantius III, who died shortly after the birth of Valentinian in 421. As empress and regent, Placidia became surrounded by holy men and powerful spiritual leaders from across Italy and beyond. These include Pope Leo I, with whom she restored the church of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome and dedicated their work together in a mosaic inscription on the triumphal arch (destroyed in 1823 and subsequently recreated); Peter Chrysologus, the bishop of Ravenna and a doctor of the Church known for his sermons, some of which he offered in the presence of the empress; and Germanus of Auxerre, the well-traveled bishop and revered ascetic who eventually died in Ravenna having traveled from Gaul, and in whose *vita* Galla appears as sponsor and supplicant.

Beyond the holy man and confessor of Placidia, the name of Barbatianus would not have been out of place. While the name *Barbatianus* was exceptionally rare during the ninth and tenth centuries when the cult was developing in Ravenna, the name as a diminutive for Barbatius appeared regularly in Italy during Late Antiquity, and a number of men named "Barbatianus" are known from a variety of sources as bishops and heretics, lending further legitimation for Ravenna's saint in the context of the fifth century.

1.2 "Foreign" Saints in the Late Roman Capital

Evidence, predominantly in the form of inscriptions detailing family origins, suggests a strong link between Syria, and its capital of Antioch, with Italy in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. Greek-speaking easterners served as sailors in the Navy, became farmers, and as suggested by the papyri records from Ravenna, by the sixth century, held key positions in the mercantile and banking sectors of the city.[11] In addition to this epigraphic and documentary evidence, the traditional trope of the "holy Syrian" going back to St. Peter and his disciples, including the patron saint of Ravenna, the martyr Apollinaris, suggests the strength of the connection between Ravenna and the East, and it is clear that eastern monks, clergy and holy men would have been welcome in the city.

Writing in the second half of the fifth century, a generation after Barbatianus, the bishop of Clermont and poet Sidonius Apollinaris criticized the influence of Syrians in Ravenna in a letter written in 468. In his long and satirical attack on the city, he stated that "the clergy lend money and the Syrians chant psalms," creating an inversion of what Apollinaris and his late antique audience expected: Syrian bankers and singing priests.[12] While this is not conclusive evidence as to the depth of the integration of easterners into local practices, it suggests that at many levels, Ravenna differed from other cities in the Western Mediterranean with respect to the size and conspicuousness of its immigrant populations.[13]

Another important group in Ravenna with eastern roots (besides bankers and clergy) would have been the military bureaucrats installed by the Byzantine Emperors to govern Italy after the conquest of the Ostrogothic Kingdom in the middle of the sixth century. While this would have little effect on the cult of Barbatianus directly, the core legend of an eastern holy man who becomes a trusted imperial confidant might have resonated with these military governors. Despite their prevalence in epigraphic and

literary evidence, it is crucial to note that while there may have been a greater concentration of easterners in Ravenna than in many other Italian cities, the population overall was never very large.[14]

Beyond the foothold of Apollinaris and Barbatianus, eastern saints and their lives continued to hold a great deal of interest in Italy; for example, in the ninth century, a movement began in Naples and Rome to translate many of the major (and some of the lesser) eastern *vitae* and other hagiographic texts, primarily under the direction of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Even more fitting, many of the miracles attributed to Barbatianus in his *vita* come directly from an earlier Latin translation of the *miracula* of Cyrus and John, two Egyptian saints whose combined life is written in Greek by Sophronius, likely translated in part during this movement, and discussed in the following chapter.

That Barbatianus was described as coming from Syria, and from Antioch in particular, would have played an important role in his acceptance as an authentic traveling holy man of the fifth century. Further background to his life never became relevant, as his travels directly paralleled those of Apollinaris; born in Syria, traveling to Rome and ultimately being sent to Ravenna. The key difference is that while Apollinaris founded the church in Ravenna and came to be seen as its proto-bishop and a confessor-turned-martyr, and his veneration and promotion in Ravenna in the fifth and sixth century helped to build the cult around the bishops in later periods, Barbatianus was elevated in importance for a diverse range of other reasons in the ninth and tenth centuries; first through his relationship with the Galla Placidia, and later through his eremitic lifestyle, monastic foundation and miracles. While a host of medieval and modern sources on the empress mention her piety and patronage, her connection to holy men would have made her an especially potent accessory to the saint's miracles during both Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

1.3 Saints in the Sphere of Galla Placidia

Of the empresses in the Late Roman Empire, Galla Placidia had perhaps the most unusual and unenviable life. She was born between 388 and 390 as the only offspring of the emperor Theodosius I and Galla, the daughter of the emperor Valentinian, and as such was a descendent of the two most important imperial families of the fifth century. After the sack of Rome in 410, she was taken as a hostage, and later became the wife of the Visigothic king Ataulf in 414, only to return to the confines of the imperial

family through marriage to the general Constantius III, as arranged by her half-brother, the emperor Honorius in 417.[15] After her return, the political power she wielded was visible in many instances, including letters she wrote to her nephew Theodosius II, and was perhaps most noticeable in the gold *solidi* minted after the death of Honorius, when Theodosius II recognized her independently with the title of *Augusta*. One coin in particular, minted in Italy in 426–430, presented her title as *Our Lady Galla Placidia*, *Faithful and Happy*, *Augusta* and depicts her in imperial regalia with the addition of a "Chi-Rho on the empress's shoulder, as if to confirm the Christian symbolism of the crowning hand of God above her head."[16]

Besides her political roles, Galla Placidia fell within the norms of female patronage and piety expected of empresses.[17] Keeping in line with both imperial and Christian ideology, as empress, she maintained within her network a wide range of holy men and ecclesiastical officials, both as a means to confirm her authority and as guides in her expression of Christian piety, a point widely acknowledged by her modern biographers.[18] Taking the kernel of material from the *LPR*, the hagiographer writing the *vita* of Barbatianus placed him within her orbit, and he follows the same trajectories as Peter Chyrsologus; Germanus, the bishop of Auxerre; and Pope Leo I, for whom she decorated the triumphal arch in the Church of San Paolo fuori le mura. While her actual faith may have been rooted in the pragmatism of imperial rule, where there is "no contradiction in using the Church to serve the needs of the saint … [and] no reason why the state should not interfere in the affairs of the Church, at least to preserve order, if not to promote other aims of its own," her appearance in hagiographical texts, imperial and ecclesiastical biographies, and even histories, suggest that these authors found Placidia's faith to be genuine and worthy of promotion.[19]

Placidia's piety and connection to these bishops and holy men, although typically less important in modern accounts of her life and reign set on uncovering her political persona, were key components in the late antique and medieval texts of which she was subject.[20] Perhaps her strongest connection was to Peter Chrysologus, who served as bishop of Ravenna from 426 to 450, and who not only helped direct her patronage of the city but also noted in his own writing her attendance at his sermons and praised her as the embodiment of the Christian empire.

According to Agnellus in the *LPR*, Galla Placidia's close relationship with Peter Chrysologus was manifested in her support and patronage

of the church, noting that "in his episcopacy the empress Galla Placidia offered many gifts to the Church of Ravenna."[21] In addition to his administrative duties, Chrysologus was a compelling writer, famous for the vibrancy of his sermons, and upon his death, Agnellus reported that Placidia "ordered that his image in mosaic should adorn the lower wall of the apse" of San Giovanni Evangelista, a church she had sponsored under his guidance.[22]

In the sermons themselves, the reciprocity between the bishop and the empress is clear; while Agnellus described the gifts Galla Placidia offered the Church, her veneration and relationships with Peter and Barbatianus, Chrysologus pointed to a contemporary view of the empress as the key maternal figure and conduit of the imperial family. In a sermon titled *On the Resurrection of Christ*, Peter acknowledged the attendance of Placidia and her role in guiding religious policy within the empire: "And also present is the mother of the obedient and faithful Christian Empire, who through faith, the work of sympathy, and sanctity in honor of the holy Trinity she followed and imitated the Church, that is to produce, to esteem, and to inherit, as she has earned the imperial Trinity."[23] Oost has suggested, along the lines of earlier commentators on the sermons, that the imperial Trinity "earned" by Galla Placidia were the three emperors of her family: her father, Theodosius I; her husband, Constantius III; and her son, Valentinian III.[24]

The connection between Galla Placidia and Peter Chrysologus extended beyond his sermons, and in the saintly bishop's *vita*, (a text constructed later primarily from the material in the *LPR*) the relationship is confirmed, along with the fact that he and Galla Placidia buried Barbatianus together. This was further embellished in the *Vita Barbatiani*, where a more complete narrative of his funerary rites is presented, with the description that they followed the ancient custom of embalming the saint.[25]

In addition to her attendance at the sermons of Peter Chrysologus, Galla Placidia played an important role in the affirmation of the imperial family's maintenance of orthodoxy in both the East and the West. Long after she had receded from precedence, her letters written to the court in Constantinople, her niece Pulcheria and her nephew Theodosius II, as preserved in the epistolary collection of Pope Leo, reflected a "commitment to orthodoxy as defined by the papacy."[26] In the letters, five of which survive, she acted as an advocate for the position of Pope Leo against Constantinople and the exertion of his authority in matters of dogma, as well as in the realm of the ecclesiastical imbroglio overseen by the

Patriarch of Constantinople, Flavian. In her second letter to Theodosius II, in addition to noting the entreaties she herself received from Leo (and his call to "join our moans to his"), she described her first activities in Rome on February 21, 450, the feast commemorating the investiture of St. Peter: "On our very arrival in the ancient city, we were engaged in paying our devotion to the most blessed Apostle Peter, at the martyr's very altar."[27] She continued to record what would have been considered the ideal of imperial piety and commented on the disruption caused by Flavian to "the faith, so long guarded since the days of our most divine father, Constantine."[28] The intertwining of papal and imperial agendas here is clear: Placidia arrived and partook in veneration of the first pope, while simultaneously echoing the message of the current pope, all under the guise of imperial Christianity.

Her connection with Leo extended beyond her advocacy of his positions and agendas against Constantinople; it also included her patronage of Roman churches under his supervision. The Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura, which had been rebuilt by Theodosius I in the fourth century but had been damaged by a lightning strike, became a major beneficiary of her contributions toward refurbishment, to the extent that she was honored by a mosaic inscription across the triumphal arch in front of the apse.[29] Despite this close connection to Leo and her appearance in his other correspondence, the *LP* does not mention her patronage or her actions on behalf of the pope, and she does not appear in the single hagiographic *vita* of Leo, composed in Greek and preserved in Southern Italy.[30]

Beyond her personal interactions with bishops, Placidia's interest in saints was often very personal, as evidenced by the surviving figural images in the side chapel of the church of Santa Croce, now known as the "Mausoleum of Galla Placidia." There have been suggestions that the empress had a direct role in the specific selections of saints; for example, the inclusion of a figure in the surviving chapel, likely St. Vincent rather than St. Lawrence, connected to her time in Spain as the wife of Ataulf; similarly, other unidentified white-robed martyrs rest in the lunettes in the east and west of the chapel.[31] Her personal interest in specific figures as connection to her own piety is also strongly visible in the models used in the scene of the *Adoration of the Twenty-Four Elders*, a half-length portrait of Christ in the triumphal arch before the apse of San Paolo fuori le mura, which became a model for later representations in churches, such as Cosmas and Damian, Praxedis and Santa Maria Maggiore.[32]

Placidia's personal interest also attracted a religious leader from outside of Ravenna in the form of an embassy undertaken by Germanus of Auxerre to Italy, where he was received as a holy man and ultimately died in Ravenna as a saint. Almost all of what is known about Germanus and his visit comes from his *vita*, written shortly after his death by his ally and follower Constantius of Lyon between the late 470s and 494. In his account, Constantius stressed the social capital earned by Germanus through his interventions on behalf of various communities and individuals, rather than his miraculous exploits.[33] Although his exact dates are tenuous, as none are identified in the *vita*, Germanus likely held the bishopric of Auxerre from 418 until his death, perhaps as late as 448.[34]

While bishop, Germanus traveled widely, notably going to Britain at least once, with this trip and his time in Italy closely recorded by Constantius.[35] After an arduous passage over the Alps, Germanus was celebrated for his miraculous powers and sanctity, despite his effort to conceal his identity. On arriving in Ravenna, he immediately made connections with the Bishop Peter Chrysologus and the imperial family. The first encounter with them is worth investigating in detail:

> At that time the bishop of the city was Peter, who ruled the church of Christ there in the tradition of the apostles. The empress Placidia reigned over the Roman Empire jointly with her son Valentinian, who was still a young man. They loved the Catholic faith so well that, though rulers of all, they obeyed with the deepest humility the servants of God. All these personages, for the love of God, vied with one another in the reception that they gave to the revered bishop. Princes courted him, nobles went out to meet him, the body of the faithful were in transports of joy. The revered empress sent to his lodgings a huge dish of silver laden with many kinds of delicious food, all prepared without meat. He accepted the gift, distributed the food to those who served him and kept the silver, sending back in its place a little wooden platter with a barley loaf on it. The empress treasured both, immensely delighted, both because her silver had passed through his hands to the poor and because she had received for herself the holy man's food on so humble a dish. Indeed, she afterwards had the wood set in gold and kept the bread to work many miracles of healing.[36]

The interaction between Germanus and Galla Placidia as presented by Constantius reaffirms the ascetic and saintly properties of the bishop, but also fleshes out a more nuanced image of the piety of the empress and her support of holy men like Germanus, a relationship echoed in the later

vita of Barbatianus.[37] Like the view of her we receive in Agnellus and the sermons of Peter Chrysologus, in Constantius's description, the empress is loyal to the Catholic Church and to its leaders; in addition, we see her personal attention to the visiting saintly bishop, hosting a reception in his honor and seeing to his dietary needs with his ascetic restrictions in mind.[38]

The wonderworking relics Galla Placidia obtained from Germanus, a simple wood plate (*patenula lingea*) and a barley loaf (*panis ordeaceum*), connected the empress to the saint through a shared activity, in this case charity.[39] These objects were offered by the holy bishop in place of the silver plate which Germanus took as a gift for the poor, an act which made the empress party to his charity as a patron. This acknowledgement could serve as a parallel to her patronage of San Paolo fuori le mura with Pope Leo I, but more closely resembles the case of the church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna, where through the assistance of Barbatianus, she obtained a relic for the dedication of the church within a vision.

After performing a number of miracles in the city (including healing the adopted son of a eunuch, Acolus, who was the chamberlain of the imperial bedchamber, an act echoed by Barbatianus's healing of Galla Placidia's *manipula* in his own *vita*), Germanus fell ill, leading to the final appearance of Galla: "the empress laid aside the haughtiness of royalty and went visiting the pauper; she sought out the sick and promised anything he asked."[40] He asked to be buried on his native soil, and upon his death, his body was embalmed with spices and was carried back to Gaul, although not without a squabble over the limited items and clothing in his possession, from which Galla obtained an additional reliquary (or presumably had one created), while various members of the Ravennate clergy reportedly absconded with his cloak, pallium, tunic, girdle and cape.

Here, the empress is seen as a collector of relics, following the model of the empress Helena, as well as the practices common in the eastern capital, Constantinople, among other members of her extended family: Theodosius I ordered the translation of the body of Paul the Confessor (who had been martyred in exile in 350) and the relics of two early African martyrs to Constantinople; Arcadius ordered the translation of the relics of the prophet Samuel; and Theodosius II ordered the translation of the relics of other Old Testament prophets and Christian martyrs.[41] In this light, the relics Galla Placidia obtained from Germanus seems small and unsubstantial, as it lacks a physical part of the mortal remains of the saint:

her personal relationship with the saint allowed for his body, the holiest of saintly relics, to be returned to his church in Auxerre.

While Constantius's *vita* of Germanus eventually became the standard version of his *vita* and ultimately is the version included in Jacobus de Voragine's thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea*, it was not the only text about Germanus in circulation in the fifth and sixth centuries. In fact, Constantius's text was likely unknown in late antique Italy, while the version of Germanus's life included in the late sixth-century *Glory of the Confessors* by Gregory of Tours was in greater circulation. In this account, the central narrative includes a miracle not mentioned in Constantius's *vita*, posits the saint's death in Rome rather than Ravenna and makes no connection between Germanus and the imperial family.[42] Furthermore, Germanus makes no appearance in the *LPR* of Agnellus, suggesting that while Germanus may have died in Italy, Constantius's *vita* positions the bishop close to the imperial family as a means to raise his stature back in Gaul. Whether entirely fictional or based on some kernel of a real event, the intertwined legacy of Germanus and Galla Placidia eventually promoted their status beyond their already elevated positions.

These holy men, who were all connected to Galla Placidia, form connective parallels with Barbatianus. Like Pope Leo and Peter Chrysologus, Barbatianus assisted Galla in her choice of churches for patronage, and was the key factor in allowing her to obtain a relic of John the Evangelist. The saint was more than just a miracle worker and was able to direct the piety of the empress with the same efficiency as bishops, although on a smaller scale. The parallels between Barbatianus and Germanus in their respective *vitae* are especially strong: both performed miraculous healing for members of the imperial household under the direction of Placidia; both approached celebrity status in Ravenna through their sacred powers; both are visited by the empress when they are ill and approaching death; both of their bodies were held to be sacred; and both were venerated after their death, although to varying degrees. The legend of Barbatianus that eventually coalesced into his *vita* draws some inspiration from this environment to show the saint in a guise common to other holy figures within the sphere of Galla Placidia, who are in turn promoted by the work.

On a final note, the later promulgation of the *vita* of Barbatianus in the tenth century served as a rehabilitation not only of Barbatianus to the role of an important local saint with connections to both the imperial

household and the apostles, but also of Galla Placidia herself: in this case, the reappropriation of Barbatianus in the Middle Ages was mirrored by the re-appropriation of Galla Placidia. She appeared as an important and active figure in eighth- and ninth-century histories, including the *Historia Romana* of Paul the Deacon, the *Chronographia tripartita* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius and in Agnellus. North of the Alps, she ceased to be regularly included in universal histories for some time and is absent from the accounts of Regino of Prüm (840–915) through those of Lambert of Hersfeld (c. 1024–1088).[43] However, in the twelfth-century chronicle of Otto of Freising, through an acknowledged reliance on earlier late antique sources (a pattern which many other authors of the twelfth century fall), information on Galla Placidia reappears. This precedes the discovery of the legend of the sandal-relic of John the Evangelist and the relic itself, which in the fourteenth century became integral to the Ravennate texts concerning the construction and dedication of the church of San Giovanni Evangelista (in particular the *Tractatus* and the sermon by Rainaldus de Concurezzo).[44]

In addition to the legend of the sandal and the dedication of San Giovanni Evangelista, the thirteenth century also marks the beginning of the myth of the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia as the actual burial location of the empress. For the historians and chroniclers of the eighth through twelfth century, her appearances varied between being an unnamed empress and a major character, depending on the reliance placed on late Roman sources: in one area in particular, however, there was an active reframing of her life, which involved her final resting place. This revision of her burial, which most likely was originally in Rome, promoted the myth that she was buried in Ravenna and ultimately in the chapel at the southern end of the narthex of Santa Croce now known as the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia.[45] Although the majority of sources point to the fact that she was buried with other members of her dynasty, the mythology of her burial in the *monasterium* of St. Nazarius in Ravenna first appeared in the *LPR*, and later Ravennate historians adapted and expanded information derived from extrapolations based on Agnellus. Like the *vita* of Barbatianus, as Deborah Deliyannis has argued, the interest in her burial "took place at times in which Ravenna's political role was endangered; by emphasizing Ravenna's imperial past, and its tangible, even corporeal, remains, authors attempted to strengthen Ravenna's historical claims to autonomy."[46]

1.4 The Other *Barbatiani* in Late Antiquity

That the name "Barbatianus" appeared occasionally in Late Antiquity lent further legitimacy to the establishment of the saint bearing the name in Ravenna's hagiography; however, the onomastic issues surrounding it remain complex. Excluding the monastery established in his name linked with the church of John the Baptist in Ravenna, the name Barbatianus, also appearing as *Barbacianus*, was relatively rare, and derived from the less rare, although still unusual, Barbation or Barbatus. The relative scarcity of others named Barbatianus is helpful in that the references to the saint are not misattributed, especially in the ninth and tenth centuries. Nevertheless, while Barbatianus of Ravenna, the confessor of Galla Placidia and focal point of at least some form of cult in Ravenna was the dominant historical and literary figure of that name, he was not the only Barbatianus.

Although the name is a simple diminutive for Barbatus or Barbatius, relatively few instances of the form are known from either pagan or Christian contexts. For example, while Barbatus and Barbatius were fairly common Latin names, especially in Rome and central Italy, only five inscriptions point to the existence of Barbatianus in the context of the high Roman Empire, with examples from Rome and Pompeii.[47] Only one inscription points to the Christian use of the name, from Como: "Barbatianus of blessed memory passed away on the third day before nones of June; Querellus the subdeacon of blessed memory passed away on the nineteenth day before the Kalends of September in the eighth indiction."[48] "Barbatianus" also appears in the *LP* as the name of a small, income-generating farm included in the donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester.[49]

"Barbatianus" also appears in other contexts during the Christian period, when a number of men with that name are known; one bishop from the sixth century and two other "Barbatiani," both far from saintly. The first chronological appearance of an identified Barbatianus would have slightly predated Barbatianus of Ravenna, and is found in a letter written in 396 by Ambrose to the Christian community in Vercelli (a small town west of Milan in the Piedmont), which had recently lost its bishop. He warns the community about "Sarmatio and Barbatianus, liars, who claim that there is neither merit in abstinence nor in frugality, nor grace in virginity."[50] This litany of egregious errors continues, and suggests that Ambrose believed that Sarmatio and Barbatianus were threats to the values held in common by the Christian community.[51] Ambrose refers again to the duo in his *admonitio*, on the expositions of the twelfth psalm, in which he reaffirms the heretical nature of their anti-ascetic and anti-celibate stance.[52]

The second appearance of a "Barbatianus" that is subsequently integrated into a number of ecclesiastical histories is found in the correspondence of Pope Gregory I. In a letter he wrote to the bishop of Naples in April of 600, Gregory chastised the actions of a certain Barbatianus who had been elevated to abbot by the bishop. Gregory charged "that a certain Maurice, who recently became a monk in the monastery of Barbatianus, has fled from that monastery, taking other monks with him. In this matter his haste is to us a strong indictment of the aforesaid Barbatianus, who rashly tonsured a secular man without probation."[53] An earlier letter of Gregory showed that this had not always been his position, as Barbatianus had been a well-regarded monk sent by the pope to oversee a monastic community in Naples, with a warning to the bishop that if Barbatianus "makes little progress in humility, you should put off his ordination and report back to me."[54]

Of the episcopal Barbatianus, there is only a record from the approvals of the Third Council of Constantinople (680–681), which records as the 111th signer of the acts: "the unworthy Barbatianus, bishop of the holy church of Polimartium (Bomarzo) in the province of Tuscany."[55] Tying together this bishop, the erring abbot and the saint of Ravenna suggests that within Christian circles, the name carries some popularity for almost three centuries, although at a very low level. However, we could also entertain the notion that the survival of the name Barbatianus was connected to its meaning as little Barbatus, and perhaps thus connected to the much more popular Neapolitan saint with that name. This name also is found more commonly in the sixth century, when a seal preserves the name Barbatus Stratilatos and Procopius mentions two military figures with similar names; a Barbation who was an officer in Belisarius's bodyguard during the Gothic wars, and Barbatus, a cavalry commander who served with Belisarius against the Vandals.[56] There seem to be no other mentions of the name until 835, when a priest of Arezzo named Barbatianus was mentioned in a charter of Lothar I; given the connections that would later form between that city and Ravenna, this priest may be the first and last cleric to be named after Ravenna's saint.[57]

Notes

1. Jean-Charles Picard, "Espace urbain et sépultures épiscopales à Auxerre," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 62 (1976): 209–11.
2. N. W. James, "Leo the Great and Prosper of Aquitaine: A fifth-century pope and his adviser," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 44, no. 2 (1993).

Bronwen Neil, *Leo the Great*, Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2009).

3. Ch. 42 and 49, respectively.
4. Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*: *Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 35.
5. Andrew Gillett, "Rome, Ravenna, and the Emperors," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001). The *vita* of Barbatianus suggests this pull among various cities, noting that Galla Placidia and Valentinian were based in Ravenna while Honorius remained in Milan.
6. "nomine Gallogenis natione Graecus," *VB* 5.
7. It is Agnellus who makes this claim in the ninth century "From the time of blessed Apollinarius up to this man [Peter Chrysologus], all his predecessors were from Syria." *LPR* 24.
8. "natione Antiochenus, Graecis et Latinis literis eruditus" *LPR* 1.
9. Juv. 3.62
10. The processes of monks moving from the East beginning in the seventh century is far better covered for southern Italy, where they seemed to arrive in larger numbers; see Andre Guillou, "Grecs de l'Italie du Sud et de Sicile au Moyen Âge: les moines," *Melanges de l'École française de Rome* 75 (1963).
11. For an overview, see Lelia Ruggini, "Ebrei e orientali nell'Italia settentrionale fra il IV e il VI secolo d. Cr.," *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iruis* 25 (1959): 264–77. Thomas S. Brown, "Ebrei e orientali a Ravenna," in *Storia di Ravenna*: *II.1 Dall'età Bizanina all'èta Ottoniana*: *Territorio*, *economia e società*, ed. Antonio Carile (Ravenna: Marsilio Editore, 1991), 138–45. On the issue of an independent Greek identity, see Edward Schoolman, "The Intersection of Greek Language and Identity in Early Byzantine Italy," (Forthcoming).
12. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep* I.8.2
13. Guillou, "Grecs de l'Italie du Sud et de Sicile au Moyen Âge: les moines." Like Ravenna, Rome and Southern Italy also attract Greek-speaking Syrians from the fifth century onward.
14. Brown, "Ebrei e orientali a Ravenna," 147.
15. On the marriages of Placidia, see Judith Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence*: *Women and Empire in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 304–5.
16. The inscription reads: *D*[*omina*] *N*[*ostra*] *Galla Placidia P*[*ia*] *F*[*elix*] *Aug*[*usta*]. Carolyn L. Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 67–8.
17. In Constantinople, for example, Galla Placidia's half-sister Pulcheria, whose adoration of the virgin became a powerful trope within imperial ceremonial traditions in the eastern court. Liz James, "The empress and

the Virgin in early Byzantium: piety, authority, and devotion," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

18. On the piety and religiosity of Galla Placidia while in Ravenna, see: Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay*, 265–92; Sivan, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress*, 134–41, 61–76; Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 69–72. On patterns of patronage, see Leslie Brubaker, "Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Female Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London: Routledge, 1997).
19. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay*, 251.
20. While her relationship with Peter Chrysologus, Germanus and Leo I are well noted in the major biographies of Galla Placidia, the story of Barbatianus is almost entirely absent; in Oost's account, he states: "[Galla] also apparently had a high opinion of another holy man, Saint Barbatianus, about whom almost nothing is known" ibid., 266. In Sivan's recent biography, which dedicates a large discussion to issues of Galla's piety and the visit of Germanus, Barbatianus appears in a footnote. Sivan, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress*, 167, n. 13. Barbatianus makes no appearance in Vito Antonio Sirago, *Galla Placidia e la trasformazione politica dell' Occidente*. (Leuven: Bureau de recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1961).
21. "Istius tenporibus Galla Placidia augusta multa dona in eclesia Ravenatis." *LPR* 27.
22. Ibid.
23. "Adest ipsa etiam mater Christiani parentis et fidelis imperii, quae dum fide, opere misericordiae, sanctitate in honore Trinitatis beatam sectatur et imitatur Ecclesiam, procreare, amplecti, possidere, augustam meruit Trinitatem." *PL* 52, Sermon 130.2. This is one of two references to the presence of the imperial family at Chrysologus's sermons with the other in 85B.
24. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay*, 266–7.
25. "Corpus B. Barbatiani idem Petrus Chrysologus cum praedicta Augusta aromatibus condiderunt, et cum magno honore sepelierunt, non longe ad Posterulam [*Vallic.* Pusterula] Ovilionis, consecravitque ecclesiam S. Joannis Baptistae, quam Baudarius [*Vallic.* Baduarius] aedificavit." PL 54,18c-d Baudarius was a figure connected to Justinian, who in the sixth century paid for refurbishment of monuments in Ravenna, and is not mentioned in the *Vita Barbatiani*. Germanus of Auxerre is also embalmed in Ravenna in the same way.
26. Sivan, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress*, 138.
27. "Dum in ipso ingessu civitatis antiquae hanc curam habuissemus ut cultum beatissimi Petro apostolo redderemeus, in ipso adorando altari martyris" *PL* 54, Letter 56.

28. "ut fides, quae antis temporibus regulariter custodita est a sacratissimo patre nostro Constantino" ibid.
29. "Placidiae pia mens operis decus homne • Paterni gaudet pontificis studio splendere leonis." Alan Thacker, "Patrons of Rome: the cult of Sts Peter and Paul at court and in the city in the fourth and fifth centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 20 (2012): 395–6.
30. Charles van de Vorst, "La Vie grecque de S. Léon le Grand," *Analecta Bollandiana* 29 (1910). Unlike Germanus, the contemporary hagiographic output for Leo was limited. A Greek *vita* was written celebrating the pope for his defense of Orthodoxy and his monastic heritage, the latter a common trope, and he also appears in an episode in the seventh-century *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus, a Greek collection of tales and biographies of ascetics; see: Neil, *Leo the Great*, 3–4. While these aspects indicate that after his death, Leo was not the product of intensive cult-building (as was the case with Germanus of Auxerre); rather, his sanctity was confirmed through his position as pope and his upholding of Chalcedonian values.
31. The arguments for identifying the figure in the central lunette as St. Vincent are presented in Gillian Mackie, "New Light on the So-Called Saint Lawrence Panel at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna," *Gesta* 29, no. 1 (1990). The main consideration for the arguments are the new style of iconography (and the lack of established iconography for St. Vincent) and the saint's portrayal in the poems of Prudentius.
32. "Bearing a cross-staff on his shoulder, the Savior is portrayed among the clouds in the manner of the *Sol Invictus*, the victorious solar deity of the ancient Romans, his face a source of streams of light. Fifth-century mosaicists seem simply to have fashioned the portrait of Christ after that of a pagan deity." Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300*: *On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 166.
33. Andrew Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West*, *411–533*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Through, 4th Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 115–37.
34. On the complications in dating Germanus's trip to Ravenna, see E. A. Thompson, *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain*, Studies in Celtic History (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1984), 68–70; Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West*, *411–533*, 281–82. On his time in Ravenna generally, see Sivan, *Galla Placidia*: *The Last Roman Empress*, 167–69.
35. His trips to Britain have been well studied as they coincide with the aftermath of the withdrawal of Roman forces from the island. Thompson, *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain*.
36. Constantius of Lyon, *Vita Germanii* 35. Translation by F. R. Hoare in Constantius of Lyon, "The life of Saint Germanus of Auxerre," in *Soldiers of Christ*: *Saints and Saints Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle*

Ages, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 101.

37. Germanus was following a typical pattern of bishop following a monastic lifestyle. See Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*: *The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 149–52.
38. On the connection between asceticism and diet, see: K. Perry, "Vegetarianism in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: the transmission of a regimen," in *Feast*, *Fast and Famine*: *Food and Drink in Byzantium*, ed. W. Mayer and S. Trzcionka, Byzantina Australiensia (Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2005).
39. The use of barley here reflects both the common food of the poor in Late Antiquity and the miracle of the loaves and fishes.
40. Constantius of Lyon, *Vita Germanii* 42, trans R. F. Hoare.
41. Holger A. Klein, "Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople," *BYZAS* 5 (2006): 84–5.
42. Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Confessors*, trans. Raymond van Dam, Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988; repr., 2004), 32, n. 45.
43. Donnini, "Galla Placidia nelle fonti latine medievali, umanistiche e rinascimentali."
44. Ibid., 700–2.
45. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 74–83.
46. "'Bury Me in Ravenna?' Appropriating Galla Placidia's Body in the Middle Ages," *Studi medievali* 42, series 3 (2001): 290.
47. *CIL* 6 14003 and ICUR VII 20029 from Rome; TPSulp 46 and 79 for Pompeii.
48. "Recessit b(onae) m(emoriae) Barbatianus s(u)b d(ie) III Nonas Iunias recessit b(onae) m(emoriae) su(b)d(iaconus) Qu(e)rellus s(ub) d(ie) XVIIII Kal(endas) Septem/br(e)s ind(ictione) VIII" CIL V 5407.
49. "fundum Barbatianum, territurio Ferentis, praest. sol. XXXV et tremissium." *Liber Pontificalis*, Sylvester 33.
50. "Sarmationem et Barbatianum, vaniloquos homines, qui dicunt nullum esse abstinentiae meriutum, nullum frugalitatis, nullam virginitatis gratiam" *Ep.* 63.7.
51. Commentators on this passage note that Sarmatio and Barbatianus may have been followers of Jovinian, a prominent opponent of early asceticism and sexual renunciation. David G. Hunter, *Marriage*, *Celibacy and Heresy in Ancient Christianity*: *The Jovinianist Controversy*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). The same positions which warrant Ambrose's attacks against Sarmatio and

Barbatianus are revived in Jerome's rejections of the anti-celibate and almost anti-clerical Vigilantius in *Contra Vigilantium*.

52. PL 14 915. "Primum enim Sanctus hic noster de Sarmationis ac Barbatiani defectione a monastico instituto quasi de re minime recenti loquitur: Dudum, inquit, de monasteriis exierunt."
53. *Ep.* 10.9; Translation John R. C. Martyn, p. 719.
54. The letter was dated to October of 598. Trans. Martyn, 9.12, p. 553.
55. "Βαρβατιανὸς ἐλάχιστος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας Πολυμαρτίας ἐπαρχίας Τουσκίας"
56. *PLRE IIIA*, 170–171.
57. The priest Barbatianus had given to Peppin the church of St. Peter's in Arezzo. *MGH DD Lo I* 28.

CHAPTER 2

The Contexts of Medieval Ravenna

2.1 The Legend of Barbatianus from the Sixth to the Ninth Century

Between the reign of Galla Placidia in the fifth century, when Barbatianus was said to have been lived, and the middle of the ninth century, when the basic details of his burial are described by Agnellus, no mention of the saint or his cult appears in any text. While the *vita* of Barbatianus places him chronologically in the first half of the fifth century, the earliest evidence of veneration is an inscription datable to perhaps as early as the sixth century, after the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom and the establishment of Byzantine control in Ravenna. There is no further extant evidence, although it is likely that some evidence of the saint survived and knowledge of his cult circulated, likely through his relics, dedicatory inscriptions in the churches connected to Barbatianus, and possibly the inclusion of his feast into liturgical calendars.[1] Unlike in Gaul, where the prodigious work of Gregory of Tours cemented the value of major saints like Martin and created a legacy for the miracles performed by a wide range of regional saints and the efficacy of their shines, no sixth-century hagiographic collections are preserved from Ravenna.

The surviving late antique material evidence for Barbatianus is surprisingly sparse given his elevated position with respect to the imperial family as noted by Agnellus in the *LPR* (who also is ignorant of the link to John the Evangelist). Unlike other locally grown saints, almost all of whom

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy,*
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2_2

were bishops or early martyrs who had churches dedicated in their honor throughout the fifth century, Barbatianus remained essentially unrecognized in the extant written sources until the ninth-century *LPR*, which describes a church dedicated to Barbatianus together with John the Baptist and built through the assistance of Baduarius, a Byzantine official and the son-in-law of Justin II, who served in Italy in the 570s.[2] The church itself was built, or perhaps rededicated or restored, between 575 and 577, when Badaurius was in Italy leading the final Byzantine attempt to wrest control over Northern Italy from the Lombards.[3]

The account of Agnellus of the church's creation presents a confused chronology, as more than a century separated Baduarius's arrival in Italy in the sixth century as part of the Byzantine administration from the deaths of Galla Placidia and Peter Chrysologus in the fifth.[4] While part of the confusion likely stems from Agnellus's conflation of Peter Chrysologus and a later bishop, Peter III, who served in the late sixth century, another factor may have been an inscription known to or read by Agnellus that lead him to this assumption. In other instances, he used earlier inscriptions available in the ninth century to piece together the history of Ravenna's monument, for example in including the sponsorship San Vitale, Sant'Apollinare in Classe and San Michele in Africisco in the 540s by Julianus Argentarius.[5]

The inclusion of the patron of the church and the saint fits broadly within the patterns of the last half of the sixth century, which was a rich time for donations and church foundations by the secular elite. In addition to the church of John and Barbatianus, Agnellus noted that Smaragdus the *praefectus* built a chapel near Sant'Apollinare in Classe (along with Bishop John II Romanos), while an inscription preserves the donation of Adeodatus, the *primicerius stratorum*, who was responsible for the establishment of the ambo to the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Ravenna.[6] Like these instances, the development of the cult of Barbatianus would have surely been "a slow but sure pressure from on top," with the leaders of the community in Ravenna propagating the narrative of his legend.[7]

Another important element which might corroborate the biographical material on Barbatianus in the *LPR* is the confirmation by Agnellus that he had been reading some specific (although unnamed) source for information on the death of Barbatianus. Whether this was a calendar, which listed the barest indications of the saint or his feast, or some other type of hagiographic material in circulation is unknown.

One additional piece of evidence that confirms the existence of some activity centered on Barbatianus is a much debated travertine plaque,

now in the episcopal museum in Ravenna and originally from the main Cathedral, where the relics of the saint were placed in the Middle Ages. The plaque is very limited in the information it offers, and likely functioned to identify the placement of the relics of the saint after their translation from the church of John the Baptist:

+ HIC • VMATVR • COPRVS
BEATI • BARBATIANI
CONFESSRIS • XPI

"Here the body of the blessed Barbatianus, confessor of Christ, is buried."

Although it has a known medieval context, the dating of the plaque remains contentious. In Rugo's catalog of early medieval inscriptions, he posited that the text dates from the fifth century, making it one of only three fifth-century inscriptions thought to survive from Ravenna.[8] This directly follows the early twentieth-century interpretation of Corrado Ricci, who photographed the inscription during a *recognitio* of the relics in 1908, and strove "to identify the inscription as dating from the times in which Barbatianus supposedly lived."[9] However, even in 1908, there was no consensus for the dating, and in a study of the sarcophagi of Archbishop Rainaldo and Barbatianus located in Ravenna's cathedral, Santi Muratori argued that the epigraphy of the inscription suggests a date after the sixth century and before the Carolingian reform. His arguments rest on the lack of an "H" in UMATUR, the carver's error in VMATUR appearing as VMATVB and the use of the term *confessoris*.[10]

In the 1924 edition of the *LPR*, Alessandro Testi Rasponi posited a much later date for the inscription, and wrote that "the text and the paleography point towards the ninth to tenth century, probably the time in which [the relics] were translated to the cathedral."[11] Given the difficulty in assigning a date range based only on the paleography of inscriptions, the timing of the collection of Barbatianus's relics and their translation to the cathedral in the tenth century may be the most suitable opportunity for this plaque to have been produced and displayed, and was subsequently lost or abandoned during the massive overhauls of the church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Further evidence to support a date associated with the translation of the relics can be found in other inscriptions produced for the translations of contemporary relics and used to indicate the locations of the bodies of bishops common in Ravenna. The most famous examples of this are ninth-

and tenth-century silver sheets written to identity the relics of Apollinaris, which, along with a coeval lead sheet likely from Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, were "discovered" during the *inventio* of 1173, and may have been either copies or recreations of originals placed in the seventh century and mentioned in the *LPR*.[12]

Like the plaque associated with Barbatianus, the dating of these silver sheets is debated, but the presumably older of the two was clearly designed to acknowledge the new location of Apollinaris's relics immediately after their translation: "Here once rested the most holy body of the most blessed Apollinaris, priest and martyr of Christ; which in truth is absent in this very church, as in the interest of the greatest precaution it has been well concealed."[13] The second does not mention the relics, but rather focuses on offering a condensed version of the life of Apollinaris contained in the sixth-century *passio*.[14] Although both of these texts are elaborate, they represent a similar intention (as well as likely tenth-century dating) to the simple travertine plaque locating the relics of Barbatianus.

Without other corroborating evidence, however, the plaque describing the burial of Barbatianus provides little more than a hint of the local interest in the cult of the saint. Verhoeven summarizes this well: "more likely [than being created in the fifth or sixth century, the plaque] was fabricated for the occasion of the translation of the relics into the basilica Ursiana in the tenth century or, even more plausible, the *recognitio* of 1636. Therewith the plaque is better typified as a documentation of the cult of Barbatianus in Ravenna than as a proof of his actual presence there."[15] The ultimate question of whether the plaque indicates evidence for a late antique cult around Barbatianus is ultimately unanswered; at the very least, it offers evidence corroborated with the account of Agnellus that, at the minimum, Barbatianus was known and acknowledged as part of the hagiographic landscape of Ravenna through his relics and the church that bore his name, either in the tenth century or the seventeenth.

2.2 Politics of Tenth-Century Ravenna: Archbishops

The evidence for the dating of the *vita* of Barbatianus to the second half of the tenth century only strikes at the surface of what was an important time for the history of Ravenna. Although the hagiographic landscape and the continued development of urban monasticism and monastic reform are crucial to understanding the context of the *vita*'s creation, one of

Table 2.1 Archbishops of Ravenna (ninth and tenth centuries)

Valerio	789–810
Martin	810–818
Petronax	819–837
George	838–846
Deusdedit	846–849
John VII	850–878
Romanus di Calcinaria	878–888
Domenico Ublatella	889–897
John VIII Kailone	898–904
John IX da Tossignano (Pope John X)	905–914
Constantine	914–926
Peter IV	927–971
Honestus	971–983
John X di Besate	983–998
Gerbert de Aurillac (Pope Sylvester II)	998–999
Leone II	999–1001

the most important social drivers would have been the changing political climate of Ravenna, and the interactions between the three main actors: the archbishop, the local nobility and the Ottonian emperors (Table 2.1).

The dynamic political situation of Ravenna would have held significant influence on the way in which the *vita* was formed and read, allowing for a text which would have appealed to the politically diverse audience now resident in the city. Nevertheless, although there was a church which was jointly dedicated to the saint and a feast during which his life would have been commemorated, the surviving texts and monuments do not suggest that outside of January 2, Barbatianus's feast day as celebrated in Ravenna, the saint would have had an active presence as a venerated figure in a city, which instead heavily promoted the cults of its bishop in its churches.

Although different groups would have had claims on the saint, as part of the larger push to commemorate those in Ravenna beyond bishops, Barbatianus, as a confessor, obtainer of relics and humble healer, would have made a good parallel to the other non-episcopal saints; in particular, the second-century doctor and martyr Ursicinus, described in connection with the saintly figures of Vitalis, the father of Gervasius and Protasius, and the network of late antique saints discovered and promoted during Ravenna's early rivalry with Milan. Given the strength of the clerical forces in Ravenna at the time, it would have come down to decisions by the archbishops for the ultimate suitability of a new *vita* within the liturgical practices of the city.

Despite possessing regional power, those who obtained the position of archbishop in the tenth century were frequently caught between outside political interference and local intrigue, a situation further muddled by a lack of narrative sources and a limited amount of documentary evidence; even the number of bishops in the tenth century remains contentious.[16] Despite the lack of substantial evidence for the importance of the archbishops, and their role in the history of the city and region during each archiepiscopal reign, as a whole the growing connection between the see of Ravenna and the kingdom of Italy is clear. Two of Ravenna's archbishops were promoted to the papacy, John IX as Pope John X (archbishop 905–914, pope 914–928) and Gerbert d'Aurillac as Pope Sylvester II (archbishop 998–999, pope 999–1003); these two, in addition to Archbishop Honestus, became archbishops by means of external appointment through the networks of Ottonian emperors and their agents; on the other hand, three archbishops, Peter IV, John X and Leone, renounced their claims to the archbishopric and retired, likely in response to political interference.

The Ottonian influence and dominance of Ravenna's archbishops is clearly differentiated from the earlier period of Ravenna's archiepiscopal history in the tenth century. The end of the ninth century through the death of the Archbishop Constantine in 927 was marked by instability in the region, and in Ravenna was reflected in the short reigns and contested claims to the archiepiscopal see. Beginning with Peter IV, who served as archbishop in Ravenna for almost 44 years (927–971) through the rest of the tenth century, the city of Ravenna achieved a much greater degree of stability and renewed political relevancy, despite the fact that the bishops had a variety of backgrounds, and a number lacked local connections: Peter IV was from Bologna and Gerbert d'Aurillac was from West Francia. One specific background mostly absent from the archbishops of Ravenna in the tenth century was that after 927, very few of the candidates were from local noble elite families (possibly only Honestus), in contrast to practices of the ninth century when members of the ducal families frequently obtained the position of archbishop; for example, the son of a certain *dux* Sergius became John VII (850–878).

In the period between the end of the ninth century and the rise of Peter IV in 927, we know almost nothing about the reigns of the individual archbishops of Ravenna.[17] The figure with the best recorded reign was John IX, archbishop of Ravenna from 905 to 914 and pope (as John X) from 914 to 928, who according to Liudprand of Cremona was also the lover of the *senatrix* Theodora, leader of the Theophylact dynasty.

Liudprand recorded the means of his ascent, stating that "in that time John of Ravenna [da Tossignano] held the highest office in the venerable Roman see. This man obtained the pontifical pinnacle by a wicked crime against law and custom as follows."[18] Before his elevation, John had been a priest in Ravenna and became Theodora's lover while on frequent trips to Rome; at her instigation, he was maneuvered to take the episcopate of Bologna, but when the archbishop of Ravenna died, "John, swollen with the spirit of ambition, usurped his place by the inspiration of Theodora, having abandoned his prior church of Bologna, against the canons of the holy Fathers; and coming to Rome he was quickly ordained bishop of the Ravennan [sic] church."[19]

Liudprand continued:

> "After a small interval of time, at the summons of God, the pope who had unjustly ordained him died, too; thus Theodora, with the perverted mind of Glycerium, lest she should enjoy her lover by very rare beddings on account of the length of the two hundred miles that separate Ravenna from Rome, pushed him to desert the see of the archbishopric of the Ravennans—O wickedness!—and to usurp the highest pontificate at Rome."[20]

Of course, Liudprand's narrative was crafted to serve a number of purposes: Conrad Leyser has argued that the main problem was not with wicked women, but in the behavior of the clergy and the bishops, and John IX of Ravenna in particular.[21] On the other hand, Philippe Buc has demonstrated that the narrative contrasts the shameless and morally corrupt women leading Italy in the tenth century with the chaste and virtuous German queens and noblewomen, especially the scandalous and depraved behavior of the *senatrices* of the Theophylact clan, with whose fate John IX becomes intertwined.[22] What is not provided is any sense of John IX's tenure as archbishop, only that his time there was the "small interval" of a decade, and he had rejected not one but two sees (Bologna first, and then Ravenna). Only a small number of letters survive from his papacy, although the one which seems to point to a direct connection to Ravenna in the form of a concession granted to his successor Honestus in 921 proved to be a twelfth-century forgery.[23] Nevertheless, John IX's involvement in the politics of the kingdom of Italy as pope was significant, especially in his management of various claimants to royal and imperial authority.[24] After falling out of favor with the Theophylacti, he was deposed as pope and ultimately murdered by Theodora's daughter, Marozia, in 929.

In Liudprand's account of John's rise, we are provided with a small detail about John's predecessor as archbishop of Ravenna. Although Liudprand is confused about his identity (assigning him the name of Peter, who may have been bishop in Bologna at the time), he comments on the status of Ravenna in relation to Rome: that John's frequent trips to Rome were arranged only "on account of the due subjection [of the see of Ravenna]."[25] If we can take Liudprand's account at its face value at least in the details, it would indicate indeed that Ravenna had fallen under the political sway of Rome, at least in the fact that John was able to be installed as bishop through external machinations (although other sources paint the meteoric rise of John as part of the long-running issue concerning legitimate ordinations during the Formosan schism and the papacy of Boniface VI in 896 and the Council of Ravenna in 898).[26] What the career of John also illustrates is that although Ravenna had lost much of its political authority, its relevance as a former imperial and royal capital seems to have maintained its elevated position within the kingdom of Italy. It was the city's historical relevance that likely led to the conflicted status of his successor in the conflicts over the position of king and emperor.[27]

Peter of Bologna, who would succeed Constantine as archbishop of Ravenna, would leave a far greater mark on the city; it would be during his episcopacy (or those of his two immediate successors, Honestus and John X) that the *vita* of Barbatianus would have been composed. Although only fragments about their episcopacies are known through references in charters and chronicles, it is clear that once taking the office, Peter became a strong leader and advocate for continuity, working to improve the status of the city during the continuous political upheavals in Italy. He witnessed the arrival of Hugh of Provence the year before his episcopacy and managed the church during the period of other claimants, rival and otherwise: Rudolph of Burgundy, Lothar II, Berengar II and his son Adalbert and finally the Saxon king and later emperor Otto I. During the transitions and political upheavals, Peter used his position as archbishop to strengthen the Ravennate church's claims to broader territorial control, especially for territory around Ferrara, which it had contested with Rome, and ultimately "extended temporal jurisdiction over the suffragan sees under its spiritual authority, and from a political perspective, Ravenna became one of the major constituents of the kingdom of Italy."[28]

This 20-year political maneuvering was solidified with the arrival of Otto I. Peter IV became one of Otto's early supporters during his first Italian expedition, which was one of the key factors that facilitated the con-

tinued elevation of Ravenna's status in the tenth century. Indeed, Peter's allegiance was not idle: he was in the court in Pavia in 951 when Otto took up the title of *rex Francorum et Italicorum*, as well as in Augsburg the following year when Berengar II, who had ruled as a rival King of Italy, submitted himself as vassal to Otto.[29] Based on the evidence of the charters from Ravenna, Peter was able to continue serving as archbishop without interruption or disturbance from the revival of Berengar's claims, and when Otto I finally returned to Italy in the 963, Ravenna was one of the cities which hosted the emperor and his court.

With the strong support shown by Peter to the new Saxon ruler, as well as the historical precedent of Ravenna as an imperial city, Otto I eventually established a palace just outside Ravenna, near the city of Classe, and on a number of occasions used the city as a base for imperial administration and the administration of justice, evidenced by a number of significant charters issued there. The proximity of the emperor to the city certainly proved useful to Peter: in 965 or 966, he was taken prisoner by members of a local aristocratic family, who seemed to have confiscated archiepiscopal property and purposefully destroyed documents from the archiepiscopal archives. Once Peter had been freed, he used the authority of the imperial court to press his claims, which given the relationship between the emperor and the archbishop, were decided in his favor (the noble family who had kidnapped and imprisoned Peter never responded to the imperial summons to appear); when Otto returned to Ravenna in 967, he legally rectified the losses Peter suffered through the apparent liquidation of the assets of the rebellious family.[30]

However, the connection between Peter and Otto I ultimately presented difficulties for the archbishop: in 971, he was forced from office and replaced with Honestus, the abbot of the recently reformed monastery of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, and perhaps a member of one of the ducal families in Ravenna.[31] This proved to be a boon for the nobles who had supported Otto I and in turn was promoted by them, as "Archbishop [Honestus] immediately reverted to type and began alienating property to the aristocracy… Insofar as relations between the Ravennate aristocracy and its church were concerned, the succession of Archbishop [Honestus] appears to have restored the status quo ante of aristocratic dominance."[32] In addition, the so-called forced abdication or retirement of Peter became a precedent for other cases of the deposition of archbishops, both willingly and not, including archbishop Leone in 1001.[33]

During the 960s and 970s, the archbishops of Ravenna were further responsible for a reinvigorated hagiographic output in Ravenna, and specifically in the case of the early bishops whose remains were recovered in the processes of raising the antiquity and legitimacy of the city's episcopal cult. In particular, the relics of Probus were discovered and translated into the cathedral during the episcopacy of Peter, while Honestus translated the relics of Ursicinus to the same place and established an altar for the relics of Probus, after which *vitae* and *inventiones* were written to commemorate the events.

The archbishops of Ravenna who succeed Honestus represent a mixed group of individuals. John X di Besate (also known as John Vincenzo) was a hermit and an early follower of Romuald, who returned to serve as archbishop from 983 to 998. He was succeeded by Gerbert d'Aurillac, who had been the tutor of Otto II and was installed under the patronage of Otto III on his way to becoming Pope Sylvester II in 999.[34]

After the short episcopacy of Leone, the selection of Ravenna's archbishops was transformed into one of the many directly controlled and dominated by the imperial court of the Holy Roman Empire. For the next century, the leaders of the church of Ravenna would be almost exclusively of non-Ravennate heritage, and often with connections to families north of the Alps. This elevation of Ravenna into the Empire as one of its primary archiepiscopal outposts at the end of the tenth century was a product of both the political strategies and the imperial *renovatio* that began under Otto I, and was carried forward during the Saxon and Salian dynasties. Under these circumstances, the promotion of hagiography which suggested a link between the imperial household and the city of Ravenna would have been welcome, or at the very least tolerated, especially in the case of Barbatianus. Other saints, as in the case of martyrs or those with episcopal pedigrees such as Probus and Ursicinus, might have served the needs of the local archbishops more specifically, but neither bore a direct connection to imperial patronage.

2.3 Politics of Tenth-Century Ravenna: Emperors

Beyond the archbishop, two other actors held power in Ravenna: the emperors and the local nobility. Starting with the support of Peter IV for Otto's claims to the kingdom of Italy in 951, Ravenna slowly became the focus of greater imperial attention, and in 967, Otto I established a

permanent residence (or perhaps repurposed another structure) in Classe, near the monastery of San Severo. It is in this palace that Otto spends much of the spring, according to the charters he produces, with a large and diverse retinue.[35] In that same year, the young Otto II was elevated to co-emperor.

While under the direction of the archbishop, the church of Ravenna would be the beneficiary of many imperial concessions: Ravenna's monastic institutions benefited in the same way. For example, on May 25, 972, Otto I and Otto II together issued a confirmation of the monastery of Sant'Apollinare in Classe of its estates and possessions, and on January 15, 981, Otto II confirmed the property of Santa Maria in Cereseo.[36] Otto III would have an even closer relationship with the monks and monasteries of Ravenna than his father and grandfather, and he appeared in two episodes in the *Vita Romualdi* of Peter Damian, specifically connected to Sant'Apollinare in Classe.[37] In the first, Otto III was directly responsible for the elevation of Romuald as an unwilling abbot of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, and in the second, the emperor spent an entire Lent in that monastery as part of his penance for the mutilation of the anti-Pope John Philagathos and the execution of Cresentius, the leader of the rebellion based in Rome.[38]

Otto III also navigated the political waters between the church in Ravenna and other entities. In a charter issued from Rome in September of 999, the year of his penitential acts, Otto confirmed the possession of the church of Ravenna over property contested during the archiepiscopacy of Peter of Bologna: "We confirm and most loyally corroborate all of the things held by the episcopate, monasteries, churches, cities and castles, and all the other things at any time by means of old charters [*cartas antiquas*], the privileges and the commands relating to the sacrosanct Ravennate church."[39] Despite the close knit relationship between Ravenna's church and the emperor, not everything was decided in Ravenna's favor, and in the fall of 1001, two years after his acts of penance, Otto III revisited Ravenna in November, where he freed the monastery of Pomposa from the authority of the archbishop of Ravenna in return for the territory of Sant'Apollinare and all of the arrangements that would follow (this comes after a period of agitation by the abbot of Pomposa, although the relationship between the monastery and the church of Ravenna would later be strengthened during the abbacy of Guido).

Because Ottonian charters included both the location and the date of their issuance, it becomes possible to see how often Ravenna was used as a

base of operations for ruling the kingdom of Italy (and sometimes as a staging point for military expeditions further south), beyond the evidence for direct patronage and also as an important node on Ottonian itineraries.[40] Although by no means comprehensive, the collections of charters published in the Monumenta Germanae Historia (*MGH*) for Otto II suggest that he was in Ravenna on at least these dates: October 3, 968;[41] April 11, 970;[42] December 28, 980–January 18, 981;[43] and July 14–16, 983.[44] After the death of Otto II, complex regency prevented the then three-year-old Otto III from traveling; as regent, his mother Theophano issued at least one charter from Ravenna in April of 990. Once Otto III reached the age of majority, he traveled directly to Italy, and during the course of his short independent reign, he issued charters in Ravenna on at least six occasions: May 1, 996;[45] February 5–9, 998;[46] December 19, 999;[47] March 25–May 12, 1001;[48] September 11, 1001;[49] and November 20–December 12, 1001.[50] The link between Ravenna and the Saxon family was strong even after the death of Otto III, to the point where when the kingdom of Italy was claimed by Arduin of Ivrea, the church removed the imperial and regnal year from their charters until 1006 (two years after the saxon Henry II reclaimed Italy).

Imperial patronage of the local archiepiscopacy and monastic institutions (or at least the reiteration of their concessions, grants and rights), and the actual presence of the emperors in Ravenna on many occasions made a significant impact on the city, and mostly likely was a key part in the revival and recreation of the cult of Barbatianus, with its close connection to the older imperial family of the Theodosian dynasty.

2.4 Politics of Tenth-Century Ravenna: Nobles

While emperors and archbishops were considered stakeholders in the *vita* of Barbatianus, it was the institutions supported by the local aristocracy that were ultimately responsible for its propagation within the city and outside of its walls. This group, made up of families whose members often claimed the titles of *dux* (although not necessarily through heredity in this period), underwent some significant changes during the latter half of the tenth century. In particular, the arrival of the Ottonians provided significant opportunities for advancement among the local Ravennate nobility, as well as stability, often connected through the church. In this new political environment, David Warner noted that "the Ravennate aristocracy was not in a permanent state of opposition to the archbishopric. In fact, they identified strongly with it. Expansion of the archbishops' wealth ultimately

worked to their benefit because, under a locally oriented prelate, it was regranted to them in the form of benefices."[51]

On the other hand, there were some local nobles who were not successful during this period, and whose fortunes in Ravenna diminished with the arrival and entrenchment of the Ottonians. Notable among them was the family of Raindalus and Guido, who had imprisoned the Archbishop Peter in the 960s; however, there were others like the obscure count Lantbert, "an unidentifiable lord who was declared a public enemy and dispossessed of his lands."[52] For the most part, however, as noted above the aristocratic families were able to gain access to territory through leases arranged with the church or local monasteries, notwithstanding that the episcopal see would be filled by an imperial appointee (and sometimes a foreigner, in the case of appointments of Gerbert d'Aurillac, and Federicus, archbishop from 1001–1004).

With access to greater territory, expressions of both wealth and devotion were made through the establishment and patronage of monasteries, many of which were undergoing significant reforms during the same period. In turn, newly reorganized monasteries demanded abbots, as well as the texts required for liturgical practice, which naturally would then reflect the locality of the donors. These connections help to explain the spread of the *vita* of Barbatianus, traveling in hagiographic collections to monasteries connected to and supported by members of the Ravennate aristocracy.

2.5 The Monastic Communities and Monastic Reform in Tenth-Century Ravenna

The focus on Barbatianus's monastic lifestyle and his care of the sick in his vita (even if derived from other sources) made Barbatianus a good model for a type of monasticism which was practiced in close proximity to the secular world. In some respects, this raises the value of the *vita* further, given the broader context; as Julia Barrow has noted, "the relative lack of tenth-century monastic *apologiae* is curious because one of the most important consequences of the Benedictinizing process was to encourage an increase in writings, especially homilies, saints' lives, and histories, by the inmates of the newly founded or refounded houses."[53]

While Barbatianus is described as a hermit in the first part of the *vita*, once he is taken to Ravenna by Galla Placidia, the life reports that he built a monastery "and dedicated it in honor of the blessed John the Baptist,

and in which he secured a monastic rule, and he never ceased fasting and prayers, serving the Lord day and night."[54] Throughout the text, he returns to his *cellula* or his *monasterium*, but always does so alone: he is a monk without followers. While clearly not a founder of a monastic house (although a monastery would be active at the church of St. John the Baptist and Barbatianus in the second half of the tenth century), the prominent role of his monasticism, both in the miracles adopted for the *vita* and those original to it, points to the fact that Barbatianus is the first monastic saint of Ravenna, and one who lives by a *regula monachorum*.

While the monastic elements of his life would not have been too alien in the world of the fifth century that the *vita* projects, in the tenth-century context which informed the creation of the *vita*, they may have been slightly out of place. The inclusion of his eremitic and later monastic practices further suggests that the legend of Barbatianus as a monastic saint was deeply influenced by the reforms and revivals taking place in the Middle Ages, and addressed an audience aware of monastic reform both in Ravenna and beyond.

The reforms already underway and visible in the *vita* had crystalized in the eleventh century, under the influance of Romuald and later under his biographer, Peter Damian, as the multiple strains of monastic tradition found in Ravenna forged a new impetus to reform the practice. Even monasteries like Sant'Apollinare in Classe with its strong connection to Ravenna in many senses resisted these changes, as they had been reformed and influenced by the new Benedictinism and monastic organization championed by Cluny; however, others would be established to carry forward the reforms, especially in the case of nearby Pomposa.

The first great leader of the Ravennate monastic movement was Romuald, who as described in the *vita* composed by Peter Damian, was descended from a "line of most illustrious dukes," and the evidence from the surviving charters in Ravenna corroborate that his family was part of the local nobility.[55] His father, Sergius, his uncles Romuald and Adalbert, his grandparents and even the saint himself appear in charters from the city, which attest to the family's active role in land exchange with the Church in Ravenna and local monastic institutions, also serving as witnesses in disputes, common attributes for most noble families at the time.[56] Along with his father and uncles, Romuald himself served as a witness in two important documents before his monastic conversion: a *placitum* reaffirming the jurisdiction to the bishop of Ravenna over a number of areas near Ferrara in 970 (in which he is described as "Romuald the son of the

abovementioned Duke Sergius" in reference to his father) and a judgment made by the bishop Honestus in a dispute between nobles and the bishop of Parma.[57]

Romuald turns to monasticism after a fatal conflict between his father and uncle, and ends up at the monastery of Sant'Apollinare in Classe. This monastery, holding the relics of the patron of Ravenna and many of the subsequent bishops and archbishops, by the tenth century had become perhaps the most important monastic establishment in the area, and one which the archbishops had taken an express interest in overseeing, or at least influencing.

For most of the Middle Ages, the distinctive monastic traditions of Ravenna had frequently been the target of change and reform. The first documented efforts to reform the practices of the monastic houses in Ravenna came from Pope Gregory the Great, who was "anxious that monastic life should be carried on without undue interference from outside, whether by bishops and clergy, or lay people."[58] The local monasteries tended to be small and support only a few monks at a time; the evidence from charters as early as the beginning of the eighth century demonstrate that houses for men and women were being dedicated, but not always placed directly under the care of the archbishop. Sometime around 700, for example, three-twelfths of a *fundus* was donated to "Iohannia the devoted abbess of the monastery of St. John the Baptist, which is called Navicula, and through her to the same [abbess] for the monastery."[59] The new urban coenobitic monasticism developing in the city and organized under a rule, especially connected to the major early Christian basilicas in Ravenna, appeared more frequently in the eighth century, when epigraphic evidence from the episcopacy of John V (724–748), mentions an abbot, a *collegium monachorum*, as well as a *servi Domini hic deservientes* in the church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe.[60] Although less clear in specifics, this locus of organized monasticism may also be referred to in the *Liber pontificalis* of Ravenna, which ends the life of Archbishop Sergius (748–769) by mentioning that he had established a *cella* in that church and endowed it with his own possessions.[61]

The connection between hagiography and monastic reform is as old as hagiography itself: in the fourth century, the *Vita Antonii* of Athanasius of Alexandria clearly presented the holy man as a type of model for behavior, especially in a new Roman world in which martyrdom was no longer readily available and persecution remained possible only for heretics and schismatics. At the end of the sixth century, Pope Gregory the Great's

Dialogues offered Latin readers in the West a new type of organized monasticism in the hagiography surrounding Benedict of Nursia. The reforms of long-established monasteries and monastic traditions continued to be targeted though hagiography as a means to change behavior, organization and social practices.[62]

In some ways, the *vita* of Barbatianus is a reflection on the reform in both the implementation of rules and the stress of eremitic aspects of monastic practice which had been an ongoing activity in Ravenna; while the history of Ravenna's monastic reforms is relatively well known for the eleventh century because of Romuald and Peter Damian, and perhaps also John Fécamp, Ravenna's native sons who championed monastic and spiritual reform, the changes which affected the monastic institutions in the ninth and tenth centuries remain understudied.[63] With monastic reform taking root in Rome and other areas of Italy, and a new imperial presence and interest in reform under the Ottonians in the second half of the century, Ravenna became a nexus for various movements. The various strands of Rome, Cluny, the Ottonians, new interest in communal eremitic practice and its own *sui generis* monastic traditions, fused together in the tenth century, creating the environment from which forms of eremitic as well as urban and aristocratic monasticism would develop in the city and its outlying possessions.

One parallel may be found in the new forms of monasticism and renewal taking place in Rome in the tenth century. While in the early ninth century the monasteries in Rome were frequently led by the members of those communities, documentary evidence confirms that by the end of the tenth century the monasteries connected to the Vatican basilica, those connected to Santa Maria Maggiore, and the monastery of Santa Praxedis, were not overseen by the regulars but by "an archpriest assisted by a group of secular clergy."[64] This administrative change was only part of the reform, and likely occurred in the late ninth century.

In addition to the monasteries reliant on major basilicas, Rome was also home to many smaller monasteries in the ninth century, but like many of the city's institutions, they had suffered from the prolonged economic decline, along with the raiding and destruction of territory, including the sack of the city in 846 by a force of Arab raiders, which remained a threat until their defeat in 915 at Garigliano. The refoundation and patronage of these other monasteries began in earnest after 936, when Alberic, the Count of Tusculum and the *de facto* secular authority in Rome, invited Odo of Cluny to the city to reform monastic practice there, which led to

a resurgence of new foundations sponsored by Rome's leading nobles: by the end of the tenth century, there were 15 new monasteries in the city.[65] What took place in Rome after 936, with continued monastic foundations, was part of a wide-ranging reinvestment in monastic institutions by nobles at a local and regional level across much of Western Europe.[66] Even the charters from Ravenna attest to numerous gifts and grants which helped to establish or reestablish small monastic houses and communities throughout the city and region.

For Ravenna, the most important monastery was connected to the basilica of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, which had long held the role as the city's premier religious institution by housing the city's episcopal cult. Thirty-five years after Odo of Cluny assisted in reforming some of the monasteries in Rome, his successor as abbot, Maiolus (Maïeul), visited Ravenna almost certainly under the direction of Otto II.[67] The *vita* of Maiolus, which only mentions a bare outline of his time in the city, focuses on reform of that monastery in particular: "In this time (971/2), he established the rule of the Blessed Benedict to the *coenobium* of the blessed Apollinaris, which was located 24 stades outside of the city, and there he ordained its abbot."[68] The visit of Maiolus to the city and the reform of the monastery of Sant'Apollinare in Classe sat at the center of a rapid movement, informed by the emphasis on reform in Rome and from Cluny through the efforts of the Ottonians, while also independent of both.

Shortly after this reform, but before 974, we find the translation of the relics of the early Bishop Probus, recorded in a *vita* tracing the history of ecclesiastical and monastic reform. From roughly 971 to 974, Romuald himself was living in the monastery connected to Sant'Apollinare in Classe; however, the tenth century also marked a period of revival and reform for other institutions. Sant'Apollinare Nuovo appeared in documentation for the first time, and the monastery of Santa Maria in Pomposa grew significantly, and ultimately gained its independence from the city.

2.6 The *Monasterium* of Barbatianus

Aside from demonstrating the sanctity of Barbatianus through his miracles and his close relationship with an empress, the *Vita Barbatiani* also serves to document the legendary establishment of a monastery by the saint.[69] Although this fact is not stressed, mentioned only once with fairly limited detail in relation to the church of John the Baptist, it must have

been included to support the monastery dedicated to Barbatianus that had become visible in the tenth century. The *monasterium*, linked to both Barbatianus and John the Baptist, was connected with the church decided to both saints; however, the monastery in particular was not mentioned in any literary texts from the tenth or eleventh century other than the *vita*.[70] Although the monastery appeared in a few charters in which it was directly involved, they provide only the occasional details of the monastery's possessions and its abbots, the little that is available suggests its two important aspects. First, that the foundation of the monastery predated the major monastic reforms of the latter half of the tenth century, and second, in that same period, it was closely linked to the noble families of Ravenna whose members served as the abbot.

We find the monastery of John and Barbatianus mentioned in charters only four times in the tenth century, and then not at all again until it falls under the authority of the monastery in Pomposa in 1040 as a concession from the archbishop of Ravenna.[71] It first appeared in a charter preserved in a cartulary from the abbey of Pomposa (now in Montecassino), which is dated April 18, 932, and filed in Ravenna by a civic notary. It recorded that Honestus, subdeacon of the church of Ravenna as well as the abbot of the monastery of St. John and Barbatianus (*abbas monasterii sanctorum Iohannis et Barbatiani*) offered a lease of territory near Imola in the *pieve* of Santa Maria in Tiberiaco.[72] Twenty years later on October 15, 953, the same Honestus was still abbot; in a record of a lease known as a *libellus* which was part of the same cartulary, Honestus again is recorded as subdeacon and abbot of the monastery of St. John and Barbatianus, and offers a *fundus* called *monte fraprietorum* in the same area.[73] Although not listed as an abbot, it is possible that the *Honestus subdiacus* mentioned as a witness to a synod held in 955, in which the Archbishop Peter received control over contested territory from the bishop of Ferrara, was the same person as the abbot of the monastery of John and Barbatianus.[74]

Another *libellus* preserved in Pomposa and dated to June 15, 957, follows the same pattern as that of 953 (although with a slight difference in the title of the monastery, diminishing the link to Barbatianus, *monasterium sancti Iohannis qui et Barbatiani vocatur*); the abbot Honestus leased land in what must have been the area near the monastery, in the region of the Basilica of San Vitale.[75] The evidence for the monastery's proximity to San Vitale appears in a charter from the same year, in which it is mentioned in a emphyteusic grant of a house in the region *juxta basilice*

sancti Vitalis Martyris, which shares a boundary with the *monasterium sanctorum Iohannis et Barbatiani*.[76]

Only two things can be certain about Honestus: like many of the other abbots in Ravenna, he was also a member of the church (although perpetually as subdeacon), and his tenure as abbot was at least 25 years. Although again limited in documentation, we know more about his successor, named in the charters as Paul. In a charter preserved in the records from Pomposa dated to May 7, 983, a grant of emphyteusis to a *fundus* in territory near Faenza was given to Mercurius and his family by Paul. In this instance, further information is given, as he is called "by the grace of God subdeacon of the holy church of Ravenna and abbot of the monastery of saint John which is known as of Barbatianus, son to Paul the *dux* who is called *de Traversaria*."[77] If the charter is authentic and accurate, the fact that *this* subdeacon Paul was the abbot of the monastery of John and Barbatianus furnishes a great deal of information about the position of this monastery within the spectrum of aristocratic monastic holdings.

First, this subdeacon Paul is well known from other charters, where he was known not as the abbot for the monastery of John and Barbatianus, but oversaw a number of other monastic houses. In a request for a lease from earlier in 983, Paul was called abbot of the *monasterium* dedicated to the martyr Cyprian, a location known in no other charters from Ravenna.[78] In a request for a lease from 987 or 988, he was abbot of the *monasterium* of the "holy and perpetual Virgin, Mother of God, Mary, which is called *in Cipatello*."[79] Like the request above, it was not made in Ravenna but instead in a town called *Vicovencia* on the banks of the Saint Leo, presumable in the territory close to Ferrara as the scribe was a notary of that city. The same Paul, although now a deacon, appeared as a participant in a legal dispute in 994 or 995 as *abbas* of the *monasterium* of Saint Thomas the Apostle, "located outside the gate of Saint Lawrence" in Ravenna, and again in 997, when he was asked for a *libellus*.[80] What all these references share is that in every instance, Paul was identified by his relationship with his father, the *dux* Paul of Traversaria. This is an indication of the status of the subdeacon and later deacon Paul, as the Traversaria clan became the most prominent family in Ravenna during the 960s, and succeeded in building on Ottonian policies in the city. It also meant that the deacon Paul was abbot of a number of monasteries in close succession; however, it was also possible that he held the various positions simultaneously, especially in comparison with the long tenure of his predecessor Honestus.

In the early eleventh century, the *monasterium* described as dedicated to both John and Barbatianus disappeared from the cartulary of Pomposa, but begins to appear in the archiepiscopal archives of Ravenna. In a request for a lease issued on January 5, 1031, John, the son of Peter, known as "de Cafuniano," and his wife Teucia, asked the Archbishop Gebhard for the use of the lands and shares owned by the *monasterium vestrum Sancti Barbatiani*, the monastery of Saint Barbatianus in the possession of the archbishop; the charter continued to detail some of those possessions.[81] This was not the only *monasterium* which had fallen directly under the control of the archbishop, but the charter is the only one which explicitly noted the episcopal control of the revenue connected with a monastic institution.

Whatever its condition, the *monasterium* of Barbatianus must have also been detached in some form from the church of John the Baptist at or after the end of the tenth century. In 1040, the Archbishop Gebhard granted this *monasterium*, along with the *monasteria* of Saint Stephen the greater and the small, Saint Zacharias, and Saint Mary also called the *Senodochium*, to the abbey of Pomposa. Here again, the monastery is noted only by its dedication to Barbatianus without reference to John the Baptist. After the eleventh century, little is heard about the location except for its existence in lists of churches and religious buildings through the sixteenth century, when its exact location disappears from records.[82]

The monastic reforms during the tenth century must have influenced the author of the *vita* of Barbatianus, and the existence of a monastery dedicated to the saint, even one which was likely very small but connected to the most powerful aristocratic families in the city, would have provided an important platform from which the *vita* could have emerged. What is all the more remarkable is that until the eleventh century and the *vita* of Romuald by Peter Damian, there are no other lives of saints connected to Ravenna which stressed a connection to monasticism. Even Romuald, who must have been shaped by his experiences in Ravenna, would go on to spend the majority of his life away from the city and would maintain only a minor connection to its monastic traditions. In this way, the monastic contexts of tenth-century Ravenna were fertile ground for reform-minded monks, abbots and thinkers, although apart from the vita of Barbatianus, this environment produced limited monastic hagiography.

Notes

1. In Apulia, Thomas Head has noted that the renewal of late antique saints in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was "a conscious turn to traditions remembered," aided by the discovery or relocation of their relics. Thomas Head, "Discontinuity and Discovery in the Cult of Saints: Apulia from Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages," *Hagiographica* 6 (1999): 185–6.
2. *PLRE* IIIA, 164–5; Thomas S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*: *Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800* (Rome: British School at Rome, 1984), 64.
3. Nicola Bergamo, "La spedizione di Baduario: L'ultimo tentativo armato bizantino per cacciare i Longobardi dall'Italia," *Studi sull' Oriente cristiano* 13 (2009).
4. *Agnellus of Ravenna*: *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 163. Deliyannis noted that: "if [Baduarius] built the church, it was obviously much later than the time of Galla Placidia, and would have been dedicated by Bishop Peter III (569–578)." Deichmann argued that "Agnellus saw an inscription with the names Peter and Baduarius, and thus attributed the work to Peter Chrysologus." F. W. Deichmann, "Studi sulla Ravenna scomparsa," *Felix Ravenna* 103 (1972): 68–9.
5. *LPR* 59, 63, 77.
6. *LPR* 98; Pietro Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei secoli VI – VII – VIII esistenti in Italia*, *vol. III*: *Esarcato*, *Pentapoli e Tuscia* (Cittadella: Bertoncello Artigrafiche, 1976), 31, no. 25.
7. Brown, *The Cult of Saints*: *Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, 121.
8. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei secoli VI – VII – VIII esistenti in Italia*, *vol. III*: *Esarcato*, *Pentapoli e Tuscia*, 46, no. 52.
9. Mariëtte Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, Architectural Crossroads: Studies in the History of Architecture 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 85. After Paola Novara, "*Ad religionis claustrum construendum*": *Monasteri nel medioevo ravennate*: *Storia e archeologia* (Ravenna: Fernandel, 2003).
10. Santi Muratori, "I sarcofagi ravennati di San Rainaldo, di S. Barbaziano e del Beato Pietro Peccatore e le ultime ricognizioni," *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 2 (1908): 336. "Il testo e la paleografia ci portano al IX–X secolo, con tutta probabilità al tempo che fu fatta la traslazione nella cattedrale."
11. "Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Nuova Edizione 2.3*, ed. Alessandro Testi Rasponi (Bologna 1924), 124. "Il testo e la paleografia ci portano al IX–X secolo, con tutta probabilità al tempo che fu fatta la traslazione nella cattedrale."

12. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 56, n. 9. See also the introduction to *Agnelli Ravennatis Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. Deborah M. Deliyannis, vol. 199, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnout: Brepols, 2006), 40–41; Alessandro Testi-Rasponi, "Note marginali al 'Liber pontificalis' di Agnello ravennate," *Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, *3rd ser.* 27 (1908–9): 257–9.
13. "+ HIC · REQUIESCIT SACRATISSIMUM (cor)PUS · BEATISSIMI · APOLENARIS · SACERDOTIS ET · MARTIRIS – XPI · QUOD · VERO · HIC · DEEST IN HAC EADEM ECCL(esi)A · OB · MAXIMA(m) · CAUTELA(m) · OPTIME RECONDITUM · EST" Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei secoli VI – VII – VIII esistenti in Italia*, *vol. III*: *Esarcato*, *Pentapoli e Tuscia*, 20, no. 3.
14. "Coming from Antioch, the blessed Apollinaris was sent by the greatest of the apostles as the founder [of the church] in Ravenna, to proclaim baptism as the payment for the remission of sins, and in the place through the lord he performed many virtuous works: he restored sight to the blind, he cured the paralyzed, he made the dumb speak, he drove out demons, he raised the dead, he cleansed the lepers and he destroyed the images and temples of the idols." "+ ORTUS · AB · ANTIOCHIA · BEATUS · APOLENARIS A S[ummo] / APOSTOLORUM · PRINCIPE RAVENNAM ·MISSUS EST PREDICARE BAPTISMUM/ PENITENCIE · IN · REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM IBIQUE PER EUM DOMINUM VIRTUTES / MULTAS OPERATUS EST NAM CECOS ILLUMINAVIT PARALITICOS · CURAVIT / MUTOS LOQUI FECIT DEMONES FUGAVIT MORTUOS SUSCITAVIT / LEPROSOS · MUNDAVIT / SIMULACRA ET YDOLORUM TEMPLA / DISSOLVIT" ibid., 20, no. 4.
15. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 85.
16. Some of the archiepiscopal lists composed in the nineteenth century contained a wide number of forged or spuriously attested individuals. The list I have presented as Table 2.1 represents a relative consensus based on the list published by Giorgio Orioli, "Cronotassi dei vescovi di Ravenna," *Felix Ravenna* 127/130 (1984/1985).
17. The more important surviving evidence remains eight episcopal letters from the late ninth and early tenth century recorded on a *rotulus* originally preserving a collection of sixth- or seventh-century prayers. S. Loewenfeld, "Acht Briefe aus der Zeit König Berengars gedruckt und erläutert in: Ceriani e Porro, Il rotolo opistografo del principe Antonio Pio di Savoja," *Neues Archiv* 9 (1884).

18. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* II.47. Translation from *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. Paolo Squatriti, Medieval Texts in Translation (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007).
19. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* II.48. It is likely that John had a rival Archbishop, Teobaldus, who appears in a document from 907. Giulio Buzzi, "Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dell' 850 al 1118," *Archivio della reale società Romana di storia patria* 38 (1915): 153.
20. Liudprand refers to Glycerium, a character from Terence's *Andria*.
21. Conrad Leyser, "Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona, c.890–c.970," *The English Historical Review* 105 (2010): 797–98.
22. Philippe Buc, "Italian Hussies and German Matrons: Luitprand of Cremona on Dynastic Legitimacy," *Frümittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995).
23. Joannis X, *Privilegium Honesto Archiepiscopo Ravennati Concessum*. PL 132, col 805A–806B.
24. Raffaele Savigni, "Giovanni IX da Tossignano, arcivescovo di Ravenna (Papa Giovanni X) e i sui rapporti con la corte ducale spoletana," in *Ravenna e Spoleto*: *I rapporti tra due metropoli*, ed. Maurizio Tagliaferri (Imola: University Press Bologna, 2007).
25. "subiectionis offitio debitae." His actual predecessor was likely the archbishop known as Cailo or Kailone. The records of donations preserved in the *Codex Bavaro* and a mention in the *Invectiva in Romam* are the only surviving references to his reign, which suggests that Pope John IX consecrated Cailone as the archbishop of Ravenna immediately at the conclusion of the Council of Ravenna in 898.
26. In particular, the pro-Formosan *Invectiva in Romam* suggests a tidal shift between the pro-Formosan Archbishop Kailone (898–904) and the anti-Formosan John. Joseph Duhr, "La concile de Ravenne in 898: La réhabilitation du pape Formose," *Recherches de science religieuse* 22 (1932).
27. Documents record two men as archbishop of Ravenna after John became pope in 914: Honestus and Constantine. After entertaining a number of theories, including that Constantine was elected by the faction supporting Berengar, while Honestus was a nominee of the papal and anti-Berengar faction, Buzzi revisits the documents and concludes that they represent much later forgeries, and that the charters held by the archiepiscopal archive are originals. Buzzi, "Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dell' 850 al 1118," 156–8.
28. Ibid., 162.
29. *MGH Const*. I.18. Peter is quite lucky, as other Italian bishops who had supported Otto found themselves at the mercy of a newly invigorated Berengar II once he returned from Germany. Adalbert's continuation of Regino of Prüm's chronicle succinctly noted that "Berengar, however, returned to Italy and twisted all this against the bishops and counts and

the other leading men of Italy, assailed them with every hatred and enmity, and thus made them his mortal enemies." For example, Manassas, the bishop of Milan who attended the proceedings at Augsburg, was removed from his see. *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe*: *The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg*, trans. Simon MacLean (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 253.

30. On this episode, see David A. Warner, "The Representation of Empire: Otto I at Ravenna 961–964 and 966–972," in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany*, *800–1500*, ed. Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 136–37; Edward Schoolman, "Nobility, Aristocracy, and Status in Early Medieval Ravenna," in *Ravenna*: *Its Role in Medieval Change and Exchange*, ed. Judith Herrin and Jinty Nelson (Forthcoming).
31. Buzzi, "Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dell' 850 al 1118," 171–2.
32. Warner, "The Representation of Empire: Otto I at Ravenna 961–964 and 966–972," 139.
33. This instance is used by Peter Damian as precedent for the abdication of his responsibilities as bishop of Ostia in 1067 (as recorded in *Ep* 72); the retirement of Leone is raised in Peter Damian's *De abdicatione episcopatus*, PL 142, 442, as is the elevation by Otto III of his successor, Fridericus.
34. Augusto Vasina, "Gerberto arcivesco di Ravenna," in *Gerberto*: *Scienza*, *storia e mito* (Piacenza: Archivi Storici Bobiensi, 1985).
35. *MGH DD O I* 340, p. 464.
36. *MGH DD O I* 410, p. 558 and *MGH DD O II* 242, p. 272.
37. Walter Franke, *Romuald von Camaldoli und seine Reformtätigkeit zur Zeit Ottos III* (Berlin: Matthiesen Verlag, 1913; repr., Vaduz: 1965), 181–235.
38. Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi* 22 and 25. On Otto's public performance of penance, see: Sarah Hamilton, "Otto III's Penance: A Case Study of Unity and Diversity in the Eleventh-Century Church," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. Robert N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 32 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 175–77; *The Practice of Penance*: *900–1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001). This act of penance is publically recognized by an inscription commemorating the event in Sant'Apollinare in Classe.
39. *MGH DD O III* 330, p. 758. "confirmamus et firmissime corroboramus omnes illo pertinentes, episcopatus monasteria eclesias civitates et castella ac omnes res que unquam per cartas antiquas privilegia atque precepta ad eadnem sacrosanctam Rauennatem eclesiam pertinuerunt."
40. On the itinerant nature of the Ottonians and their relationships with historical relevant locations (especially Aachen), see: Simon MacLean, "Palaces, Itineraries and Political Order in the Post-Carolingian

Kingdoms," in *Diverging Paths?*: *The Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam*, ed. John Hudson and Ana Rodríguez (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

41. *MGH DD O II* 19.
42. *MGH DD O II* 20.
43. *MGH DD O II* 238–243.
44. *MGH DD O III* 314–15.
45. *MGH DD O III* 192.
46. *MGH DD O III* 272–3, 275.
47. *MGH DD O III* 341.
48. *MGH DD O III* 394–396, 398–405.
49. *MGH DD O III* 409.
50. *MGH DD O III* 413–420.
51. Warner, "The Representation of Empire: Otto I at Ravenna 961–964 and 966–972," 136.
52. "Ideals and action in the reign of Otto III," *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999): 10.
53. Julia Barrow, "Ideas and applications of reform," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, *vol. 3*: *Early Medieval Christianities c. 600–c. 1100*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 359.
54. *VB* 11.
55. "ex illustrissima ducum … stirpe progenitus." Peter Damian, "Vita beati Romualdi," ed. Giovanni Tabacco (Rome: Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 1957), I, 3–4.
56. Ruggero Benericetti, "Componenti cronologiche e topografiche delle carte di Ravenna per una vita di San Romualdo," *Studi Romagnoli* 59 (2008): 485–88.
57. "Romualdus dux, Adelbertus et Sergius germani, seu Romualdo filius suprascripto Sergius dux." The texts appear as no. 151 and 178, respectively in *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo*: *Archivio arcivescovile II*: *957–976* (Faenza: University Press Bologna, 2002), 172–6, 244–48.
58. Robert A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 152. On Gregory's relationship with Ravenna in general, see pp. 143–156.
59. "Iohannia religiosa abbatissa monasterii Sancti Iohannis Baptiste, qui appellatur ad Navicula, et per eam in eodem monasterium." Ruggero Benericetti, ed. *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono* (Faenza: University Press Bologna, 2006), 3–4; Bernice Cavarra et al., "Gli archivi come fonti della storia di Ravenna: regesto dei documenti," in *Storia di Ravenna*: *II.1 Dall'età Bizantina all'età Ottoniana*, ed. Antonio Carile (Ravenna: Comune di Ravenna; Marsilio Editori, 1991), 410.

60. The inscription, still extant in the Sant'Apollinare in Classe and edited in Pietro Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec. VI – VII – VIII esistenti in Italia*, *vol. III*: *Esarcato*, *Pentapoli e Tuscia* (Cittadella: Bertoncello Artigrafiche, 1976), 23.
61. *LPR* 159: "Aedificauit iste cellam beati Apolenaris de parte uirorum, ubi et monachos statuit, et reliquid ibidem multas possessiones" The term *cella* employed here is only used once by Agnellus, making the exact definition of the world difficult (Deliyannis has suggested the Agnellus may have looked a document, like Sergius's will, and simply copied the term); or perhaps it functions in a similar way to that of *monasterium*, which has an idiosyncratic meaning in Agnellus as he uses it for monasteries, side chapels and private chapels without differentiation. Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. Deborah M. Deliyannis (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 317–8, 30–1.
62. On this topic in particular, see the contributions of Anne-Marie Helvétius and Klaus Krönert in volume 62 of *Médiévales* dedicated to *Hagiographie et réforme dans l'Occident latin* edited by Stéphane Gioanni et Charles Mériaux: Anne-Marie Helvétius, "Hagiographie et réformes monastiques dans le monde franc du viie siècle," *Médiévales* 62 (2012); Klaus Krönert, "Réformer la vie monastique ou réformer l'Empire? La Vie d'Eigil de Fulda par Brun Candidus (vers 840)," ibid.
63. John of Fécamp, although from Ravenna, made his career in leading reform as abbot of the monastery of Fécamp in Normandy from 1028 to 1078; see Lauren Mancia, "John of Fécamp and Affective Reform in Eleventh-Century Normandy," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 37 (2015). Although appearing to late to be included here, John Howe's *Before the Gregorian Reform: The Latin Church at the Turn of the First Millennium* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016) addresses the large-scale ramifications of religious and cultural reforms of the period.
64. Bernard F. Hamilton, "The Monastic Revival in Tenth Century Rome," *Studia Monastica* 4 (1962): 36–37. Reprinted as the second chapter in *Monastic Reform*, *Catharism*, *and the Crusades* (*900–1300*), Variorum Collected Studies Series 97 (Farnham: Ashgate, 1979).
65. For example, "Benedict, the Count of Campagna, built a monastery on his estates in Trastevere between 936 and 939." "The Monastic Revival in Tenth Century Rome," 55, 63. The family of Alberic (known alternately as the Theophylacti or the Counts of Tusculum) continued to be expressly interested in the continued sponsorship of monasteries in Rome, and played a role in the creation of a number of convents in the tenth century. Hamilton argues that one, S. Maria in Campo Martis, may have "owed its foundation to Prince Alberic, who endowed it as a place of retirement for his mother, the Senatrix Marozia," "The house of Theophylact and the promotion of the religious life among women in tenth century Rome," *Studia Monastica* 12 (1970): 213. Reprinted in *Monastic Reform*, *Catharism*, *and the Crusades* (*900–1300*).

66. The revival of noble patronage of monasteries was widespread: "Nobles began by rebuilding the ancient religious houses that had been destroyed in the wars and invasions of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. In the first phase of monastic endowment, they rarely created new monasteries but worked instead to restore abandoned ones or to develop religious communities in existing churches and chapels." John Howe, "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church," *American Historical Review* 93 (1988): 322.
67. On the relationship between Cluny itself and the Ottonians, see Sébastian Barret, "Cluny and les Ottoniens," in *Ottone III e Romualdo di Ravenna*: *Imperio*, *monasteri e santi asceti*: *Atti del XXIV Convegno del Centro Studi Avellaniti* (Verona: Gabrielli, 2003).
68. "Per idem tempus beati Apollinaris coenobium, quod per viginti quatuor stadiorum spatium a Ravennate urbe fertur sepositum, ad B. Benedicti instituit tramitem, ibique suum ordinavit abbatem." Syrus Monachus, *Vita Sancti Maioli* 2.24 (*PL* 137, p. 764). See also: Iogna-Prat, *Agni immaculati*: *Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à Saint Maieul de Cluny* (*954–994*) (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1988).
69. Reaching back into Late Antiquity to place the foundation of a monastery was a typical device echoed not only in Italy but in Southern France as well, where links to both apostles and earlier royal figures (in this case, Merovingians) were highlighted (or fabricated) in the foundation legends composed and circulated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembring Kings Past*: *Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval and Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 95–107.
70. There is a great deal of confusion with the use of the term *monasterium* in the charters and texts from Ravenna, as depending on the context it could either mean a monastery in the modern sense or a structure part of, or adjacent to, a church in which clerics or monks lived.
71. This donation was authored by the long-serving Archbishop Gebhard of Ravenna (1027–1044), who had been originally a canon of Eichstätt and was like appointed or selected for the position by the newly crowned Emperor Conrad II during his first expedition to Italy; the abbot who received control over the monasteries in Ravenna was the famous Guido of Arezzo. Placido Federici, *Rerum pomposianorum historia*, *vol. 1* (Rome: Antonio Fulgonium, 1781), 534–36.
72. Ibid., 400–1; Marco Fantuzzi, *Monumenti ravennati de' secoli di mezzo per la maggior parte inediti*, 6 vols. (Venice: Francesco Andreola, 1801–1804), vol. 2, 16–17.
73. Federici, *Rerum pomposianorum historia, vol. 1*, 403–4; Antonio Samartini, *Regesta Pomposiae* (Rovigo: S.T.E.R., 1963), 68–9, no. 8.

74. Ruggero Benericetti, ed. *Le carte del decimo secolo nell'archivio arcivescovile di Ravenna I*: *900–957* (Ravenna: Società di Studi Ravennati, 1999), 206–11; Samartini, *Regesta Pomposiae*, 69, no. 10.
75. Federici, *Rerum pomposianorum historia, vol. 1*, 408–10; Fantuzzi, *Monumenti ravennati de' secoli di mezzo per la maggior parte inediti, vol. 1*, 142–3.
76. Federici, *Rerum pomposianorum historia, vol. 1*, 404–6; Fantuzzi, *Monumenti ravennati de' secoli di mezzo per la maggior parte inediti, vol. 1*, 144–46.
77. "Paulus gracia Dei supdiaconus sancte Ravennatis ecclesie et Abbas monasterii sancti Iohannis qui et Barbaciani vocatur, filio Paulus dux qui vocatur de Traversaria." Federici, *Rerum pomposianorum historia, vol. 1*, 420; Samartini, *Regesta Pomposiae*, 73, no. 28.
78. Given that the charter was produced in Fano, a city on the Adriatic coast south of Ravenna and Rimini and recorded a local exchange of land, it might refer to a local institution rather than one in Ravenna. Ruggero Benericetti, ed. *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo*: *Archivio Arcivescovile III* (*aa. 976–999*) (Imola: University Press Bologna, 2002), 98–100.
79. *Le carte ravennati del secolo undicesimo*: *Archivio arcivescovile I* (*aa. 1001–1024*) (Faenza: University Press Bologna, 2003), 243–46.
80. *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo*: *Archivio Arcivescovile III* (*aa. 976–999*), 186–90, 202–04.
81. Massimo Ronchini, *Le carte ravennati del secolo undicesimo*: *Archivio Arcivescovile II* (*aa. 1025–1044*) (Faenza: University Press Bologna, 2010), 90–1. Given that the monastery and all of its possession would be given to Pomposa in 1040, it seems unlikely that this request was successful; or if it had been, Pomposa would have been the recipient of the yearly rents which included linen cloth, wine and a chicken, among other products.
82. Guiseppe Bovini, "La recente identificazione del 'Monasterium sanctorum Johannis et Barbatiani' d'eta placidiana a Ravenna," *Starinar* 20 (1969); Antonio Zirardini, *De antiquis sacris Ravennae aedificiis*: *liber posthumus* (Ravenna: Claudio Zirardini, 1908–1909), 64–66.

CHAPTER 3

The Hagiographic Landscape of Medieval Ravenna

3.1 Approaching Ravenna's Hagiographic Landscape

In the previous chapter, the evidence for the cultural and political context in which the *Vita Barbatiani* was written and his cult revived was primarily ascertained through charters, and to a lesser extent literary texts. This chapter examines the world the saint inhabited in the sense of the hagiographic landscape: who were Barbatianus's saintly neighbors, and what was his relationship to the other saints and hagiographies in circulation in tenth- and eleventh-century Ravenna? Without question, the contexts of this period were complicated by the competing and fragmented political interests, as well as the rise of various monastic movements. Furthermore, efforts to understand the hagiography and its development have been limited by the availability of material. For both medieval writers and modern scholars, the prominence of surviving late antique monuments have had a significant influence on efforts to understand and assess the legends of saints and their cults, and has often pushed contemporary focus toward those saints with a visible late antique presence.

In an article on Ravenna's early hagiography, the great Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye began by stressing this connection: "The hagiography of Ravenna is written on the walls of its basilicas. The earliest documents that we are able to consult are the mosaics which decorate them,

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016
E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2_3

the inscriptions, the buildings themselves, those which are still standing of which we recognize the remnants."[1] Using the monuments and their illustrations of saints as a point of entry, he focused on the "early" holy figures of the city: the martyrs and saintly bishops. Beyond inscriptions and mosaic representations, Delehaye invoked the use of the ninth-century calendar *Martyrologium hieronymianum* for the feasts of Ravenna's saints, Agnellus's *LPR*, and some of the later hagiography on the bishops, notably the vita of Probus. The conclusions are ultimately unfulfilling, as the weight of the material is too unbalanced by the survival of so much of the late antique iconography and contemporary inscriptions, while the later hagiographic innovations are substantially left out.[2]

The lack of balance in the hagiographic landscape is not only a contemporary issue, as it was also felt by Agnellus. It is worth recapitulating his reliance on the extant late antique mosaics and inscriptions for explanations of monuments and episcopal reigns, even for the century preceeding his own. This reliance on the visible remains of a distant past to inform his lives of Ravenna's bishops comes at a clear cost, as the modern editors of *LPR* have had to deal with his confusion over dating, burial and even the identity of the bishops and archbishop he describes. One of his greatest misattributions was over the episcopacy of Peter Chrysologus, who was confused with two other early bishops named Peter. Many smaller errors also exist, such as the attribution of the church of John the Baptist and Barbatianus to the noble Baduarius who lived almost a century later, and undoubtedly many more inventive mistakes based on misreading now-lost inscriptions, documents and iconographic representations.[3] While it ultimately provided the core material for a number of bishops who would be treated as saints later, the *LPR* was not designed to promote or record the hagiography or the hagiographic landscape of Ravenna, but rather to preserve what knowledge remained of the bishops in imitation of the archetype, the *LP*; as such, it belongs to the category of the episcopal *gesta* (itself at times a semi-hagiographical genre).[4]

The fifteenth-century *Codex Estensis*, which contains one of the two surviving examples of the *LPR* as well as the *vita Barbatiani*, is another example of a text which builds up considerable hagiographic material but was not necessarily designed to function in the genre of hagiography as a liturgical compilation. The *Codex* was written between 1412 and 1437, when it was included in a catalog of the library of the duke of Ferrara; it includes a broad range of texts, all relating to the history of the city and the church of Ravenna.[5] The last half of the manuscript is dedicated to the

vitae of the city's saints, from the very popular, such as the vita of Severus and the *passio* of Apollinaris to texts which occur only in the *Codex* or in very few other manuscripts, such as the early tenth-century *translatio* of the relics of Apollinaris, and the lives of many of the early bishops of Ravenna: Aderitus, Eleucadius, Calocerius, Procolus, Probus, Liberius, as well as those of the city's "discovered" martyrs, Vitalis and Ursicinus.

The inclusion of the various hagiographic texts in the *Codex Estensis* has the effect of compressing the hagiographic landscape when they are taken together and suggests some type of temporal coexistence among the cults. Although there was certainly overlap in the periods in which specific saints were popular, by the tenth century, there had been a number of discrete periods in which certain saints were promoted and their *vitae* promulgated. For example, in the fifth century, the cult of Apollinaris must have had a powerful draw, as the founder of the church in a now-imperial city; in the sixth century, the martyr Vitalis was the recipient of a monumental basilica as a rival to the cults of Gervasius and Protasius in Milan; and beginning in the ninth century, the vita of Severus from Agnellus was incorporated into a wide range of lectionaries of other practical hagiographic collections.[6] In the tenth century, the rediscovery of the relics of many early bishops and the translation of the relics of Apollinaris further added to the mix of saints and feasts available in the city.

The other factor raised by the assemblage of the *Codex Estensis* is that the popularity of various saints changed over time, processes invisible in a single compilation like the *Codex*. Weighing the value of a saint to a medieval audience, however, may be possible by counting the number of manuscripts which survive and incorporate various versions of *vitae*. Under this criterion, Apollinaris was the most popular by far, closely followed by Severus and the martyr Vitalis, all of whom have many versions of their lives in manuscripts produced over a wide period of time. Although seemingly less popular than the bishop-saints or even the other martyrs like Ursicinus, Barbatianus would closely follow this group, preceding in rank the many hagiographic texts relating the lives or relic translations of the earlier saints, even Peter Chrysologus.[7]

3.2 Apollinaris and the Ravennate Saints before the Tenth Century

In order to understand the hagiographic landscape of the tenth century, we must first venture to the earliest established saints and their cults. The *Vita Barbatiani* was connected not only to the political and cultural-

environment of its composition in the tenth century but also reflexively to the hagiography of the period and more broadly to the history of Ravenna's cults. While the city had, in its late antique history, been one of the major political and administrative centers of Italy (although perhaps more in mentality than in reality), Ravenna never functioned as a religious center the way Rome, Milan or even Aquileia had, a fact which was long recognized by the bishops and later archbishops who came to dominate the local society. Even in the fifth century, when the city acted as imperial capital, the lack of pre-Constantinian martyrs connected to Ravenna made the selection of its early bishops as saints the clearest choice, especially the figure of Apollinaris. The earliest sources agree that he came from Antioch and was the primary disciple of St. Peter, tying Ravenna's early ecclesiastic history to that of Rome and offering a direct line to apostolic succession.[8] This connection between Apollinaris and Peter was part of a trend to "enhance the prestige of certain sees in northern Italy."[9]

Given his claim of apostolic status and the lack of local alternatives, the cult developing around Apollinaris would have been active in the fifth century (and likely before), which was later reaffirmed by the fact that he was the principal Ravennate saint for whom Peter Chrysologus offered a sermon. In contrast to how the cult of Apollinaris was promoted in the sixth century, when the cult of bishop-saints was becoming more central, the text of the sermon corroborates his position as bishop but "says nothing about Apollinaris being commissioned by St. Peter to found the church in Ravenna, nor does he claim that his see originated in the first century. Chrysologus asserts that Apollinaris deserves the title of 'martyr,' even though he did not die immediately from the wounds inflicted upon him."[10] Furthermore, the past of the saint was less relevant than his current position, and the sermon focuses on the saint's location: Peter reminds the audience that the saint was interred "among us" and as such was still a member of the community.

Because of this early adoption as the primary saint for the city, the cult connected to Apollinaris was promoted significantly in the sixth century, when, on the heels of a dramatic period of urban renewal and civic euergetism, a major church was dedicated to this early episcopal leader in the form of a newly constructed basilica over his presumed tomb, now called Sant'Apollinare in Classe. The other church which now bears his name would only later become Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in the ninth century with the translations of at least some of the relics of the saint.[11] Sant'Apollinare Nuovo had originally been built by the Arian and

Ostrogothic king Theodoric and dedicated to Christ, and later rededicated to Saint Martin of Tours after the Byzantine reconquest in the sixth century.[12] The construction of Sant'Apollinare in Classe and rededication of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo to Saint Martin may have been an attempt to remove the stains of Arianism from a city now under direct control of Constantinople. Promoting Martin, who championed orthodoxy over Arianism in Gaul, and Apollinaris, the follower of the Apostle Peter, was intended to guide the city back within the fold of Catholic orthodoxy, and to position Ravenna as worthy of autonomy from, or at least equal in standing to, the other traditional capitals of Italy.

With the construction of this basilica in Classe, the main cult which developed around the bishops of Ravenna was anchored by Apollinaris, as the founder of the Church in the city. The church featured a unique iconographic layout in the apse, featuring "a striking and completely original design" with a central medallion containing a cross (as a representation of the transfiguration) and the text "savior of the world," flanked by a labeled Moses and Isaiah.[13] Directly under the circumscribed cross appears a saint, Apollinaris, on a field of green with orderly arrangements of trees, sparse vegetation and rocks, and flanked by 12 lambs (who echo the 12 lambs on the face of the arch above the apse).[14] As it appears today, the saint is dressed as an archbishop in a gold chasuble and white pallium, arms raised in prayer, with the label of +SANCTVS APOLENARIS appearing next to his nimbused head, resting almost on his body.[15] His position above the chorus of sainted bishops, Ecclesius, Severus, Ursus and Ursicinus, and directly below the cross of the transfiguration, marks his position as an intercessor. Furthermore, given that the church had been the main location for the entombment of Ravenna's bishops in the sixth and seventh centuries, it also played on the hierarchy between the bishops on the pillars between the windows and Apollinaris as a "martyr" and founder of the church.

The central sacred space for the cult would have been the tomb containing the relics of Apollinaris. While either all or some of the relics of the saint were moved into Ravenna to what would become Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in 856 in response to the decline of security along the Adriatic coast and the sack of Classe during an Arab raid, much evidence for the presence of the saint still survived: notably an inscription commemorating the dedication of the church and the original translation of the relics.[16] Perhaps originally located in the narthex of the church, where another dedicatory inscription was positioned according to Agnellus in the *Liber*

pontificalis, but now mounted on the wall of the north aisle, the inscription of the archbishop Maximian proclaimed the first translation of the relics and the consecration of the church[17]:

> In this place stood the sarcophagus of the blessed Apollinaris, priest and confessor, from the time of his death until the day which his tomb was carried by the blessed bishop Maximian and brought into the basilica which Julianus Argentarius had built from the foundations. The 7th day before the Ides of May (May 9th), in the 12th indication, in the 8th year after the consulship of Basil the Younger [549 AD].[18]

Although the purpose of the inscription was originally to commemorate the dedication of the church (and celebrate the patronage of the archbishop and the wealthy sponsor), it additionally affirmed the connection between the saint and the church, and the corporeal sense of occupation of the sarcophagus which held the body. Still, the inscription of Maximian raises some problems in interpreting the cult of Apollinaris in the mid-sixth century, as it describes the saint as a priest and confessor, rather than as the first bishop.

Because it offers evidence for the claim of apostolic succession for the church of Ravenna, the *passio* of Apollinaris has come under detailed investigation concerning its validity as a source for early church history. Despite its early medieval popularity, like other similar hagiographic narratives, it ultimately provides little in the way of concrete evidence for the first century, as the version which survives was likely composed during the promotion of the saint in the mid-sixth century and subsequently further developed through the episcopate of Maurus in the 660s. However, the *passio* of Apollinaris is not without its value as a historical source, as it provided biographical material not only for Apollinaris but also for a number of other early bishops, including his immediate successors who were said to come from the ranks of those he baptized; it is also the only known hagiography mused by Agnellus when he constructed the *LPR* in the ninth century.[19]

Because of Apollinaris's role in establishing the church in Ravenna, his connection to Saint Peter and his pre-Constantinian martyrdom (which was figurative for Peter Chrysologus but became real in both the later *passio* and the *LPR*), the *passio* had a broad appeal in the early Middle Ages.[20] The appeal reached across the social spectrum of Ravenna, and went far beyond it; Apollinaris became the one saint from Ravenna who

was venerated widely in the Western Mediterranean.[21] This is evidenced by the incomplete catalog offered in the digital version of *BHL*, where there are listed 107 manuscripts which contain the *passio* dating to before the end of the thirteenth century, and 11 that are in manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries from as far away as Orléans and Northern France.[22]

While possessing a wide range of sainted bishops in the mold of Apollinaris, such as the fourth-century Severus (whose relics were taken to Germany in the ninth century), the fifth-century Ursus as well as the famous sermonist and theologian Peter Chrysologus, who was bishop from 431 to 450, Ravenna sorely lacked a substantive connection to the earliest Christian communities in Italy which had been cultivated in the other late antique imperial capitals of Milan and Rome. The remedy for this inadequacy was finally addressed in the sixth century, when a letter was composed by an anonymous Ravennate hagiographer with a fictitious attribution to the great Milanese Bishop Ambrose.[23] This letter continued and elaborated upon the story of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, whose relics were discovered by Ambrose.[24] This new document, now known as the *Passio sanctorum martyrum Gervasii et Protasii*, details further background, and offers these two martyrs a genealogy that connects them directly to Ravenna: their parents were also both martyred, and their father Vitalis was a soldier, a *miles consularis*, who was killed in Ravenna for coming to the aid of a Christian who had been ordered to perform a sacrifice to the pagan gods.[25] The narrative concerning Vitalis ends with the pronouncement that up to the present, the martyr "supplies his favor through prayers and intercessions for every believer in Jesus Christ even today."[26] By adopting the father of Milan's two new martyrs, the hagiographers at work in Ravenna raised the visibility and status of their own city, its episcopal and spiritual authority and its claim to a substantial early Christian past fitting with its position as the political capital of Italy.[27] This adoption of Vitalis as belonging to Ravenna was crowned by the construction of the church of San Vitale, completed in the middle of sixth century, in which the elaborate decoration fused imperial iconography with the strength of the local episcopate in its ornate and unique mosaic designs.[28]

The composition of new hagiographic texts for Saint Apollinaris and Saint Vitalis served a number of purposes, and in particular, the promotion of the authority of the church of Ravenna against its greatest rivals, Rome and Milan, stands out.[29] The by-products of this focus are visible not only in the hagiographic literature written for them but also in the monuments built to honor these key saints. However, efforts to create

appropriate saints in Ravenna were not always as celebrated as in the cases of Apollinaris and Vitalis, and the afterlife of the legend of Barbatianus serves as a counterpoint to these earlier examples.

The ninth century marked a dramatic turning point with the composition of the *LPR* of Agnellus. His serial biographies for the bishops of Ravenna, modeled on those for Rome, have been a critical tool for modern scholars investigating many aspects of Ravenna, yet based on the few instances in which it was consulted by later medieval authors and its survival in two manuscripts, its impact on the hagiographic landscape of the city was slight.[30] However, the *vitae* of Peter Chrysologus and Severus were based on material included in the *LPR*, and all three circulated independently after the ninth century as products of a concerted effort to emphasize these saintly bishops in the liturgical year. In the case of Severus, whose relics were either stolen or claimed to have been stolen in the ninth century, the creation of a *vita* served to promote the remaining relics and cult locally.[31]

Although Ravenna was full of saints (and especially bishop-saints), at the beginning of the tenth century, options were relatively limited in terms of those who had well-established hagiographies. The changes of the tenth century, in terms of both monastic reform and political transition, would provide an environment in which texts were created to support various local factions and interests, flooding the "hagiographic" marketplace with saints and relics of many varieties. Unlike the long-established saints in Ravenna, many of these newly "uncovered" holy men or newly translated relics of known saints would find their hagiography distributed limitedly and with no significant textual afterlife; in this context, the survival of the vita of Barbatianus would position it as the most successful of these new texts.

3.3 Hagiographic Production of the Tenth Century

In Paolo Tomea's survey of the hagiography of Northern Italy, he identifies four texts composed in Ravenna during the tenth century: a *passio* for the martyr Ursicinus, a *translatio* of the relics of Apollinaris, the *vita et inventio* of Probus and the vita of Barbatianus.[32] Each text represented a distinct category of saint, which likely conformed to a specific group, political ideology or location, in the city of Ravenna.

The vita of Ursicinus, an early martyr connected to Vitalis and one who left the city of Milan for the honorable and noble Ravenna, reached toward old rivalries, while updating the narrative of the veneration of the relics to the age of the Ottonians. The *translatio* of the relics of Apollinaris (known as the *Historia translationis beati Apolinaris*), a text dated as late as the twelfth century, describes the translation of the relics from Classe, on account of the Arab raids, to Ravenna, in the church known "now as new Saint Apollinaris (Sant'Apollinare Nuovo), not because the basilica was built new at that time … but that it had been dedicated anew on account of the translation of the relics."[33]

The vita of Probus follows a similar pattern to that of the *translatio*, in that its focus is on relics; however, in episodic form, it delves into the history of the loss and recovery of the relics of many of the early bishops within the context of various efforts to reform the church and monastic practice in Ravenna, and the crises which brought them about. The vita of Barbatianus stands far from these texts in many ways: the saint was neither a bishop nor a martyr, and his own relics seemed to have little value outside of the care taken of his body at his death.

In the chronology of dealing with a lost past, the *Vita Barbatiani* was not alone: the *passio* of Ursicinus was set in the first century, although concluded with references to the relics in the tenth. In other hagiographic contexts, the descriptions of the relics of Apollinaris and Probus are set in the "present" of the tenth century, in that they represented a contemporary view on the past, while the legend of Barbatianus filled the middle ground of Late Antiquity, when the city was at its political apex. Some of these differences can be explained by the background of these texts and their specific contexts, while others are connected to the audience and the intended function of the hagiographic works.

The hagiographical background of Ursicinus positions him within the framework of the early Ravennate martyrs promoted in the sixth century. In particular, he was connected with the martyrdoms of Vitalis and Valeria, and by extension with Gervasius and Protasius, as part of the systemic creation and promotion of Ravennate saints to supersede those from Milan. Indeed, he shares his feast day of June 19 with Gervasius and Protasius, challenging the dominance of these Milanese saints.

The composition of the tenth-century *vita* of Ursicinus seems not to have been part of any major movement, but rather part of an effort to offer more legitimacy to the saint immediately after the translation of his relics. Like Barbatianus, very little had been composed about Ursicinus

before this period, having only minor mentions in a pseudo-Ambrosian letter of the sixth century which describes the martyrdom of Vitalis (who dies after he fails to protect the doctor Ursicinus), and in martyr collections like that of Ado of Vienne, who in the ninth century wrote: "In Ravenna, of the holy martyr Ursicinus, who remained unmoved in his avowed belief in the Lord after excessively cruel torture ordered by the judge Paulinus, as a martyr he died with the cessation of life by beheading. He was buried in that very city by the Blessed Vitalis the father of saints Gervasius and Protasius."[34] Supporting the inclusion of Ursicinus in Ado's *Martrologium* was the labeled appearance of the saint in Ravenna's churches, notable in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, where he appeared along with Vitalis, Gervasius and Protasiu in sixth-century mosaics. Even if relatively unknown, the popularity of the saint extended to the clergy, as he became the namesake for Bishop Ursicinus of Ravenna (533–536), who in turn was also celebrated within the local episcopal cult.[35]

In the tenth century, the composition of the *passio* greatly expands on the kernel of hagiographic material already in circulation, and in particular discusses the travails of the relics; they were first in the church of John the Baptist, but during the time of archbishop Honestus (971–983), were translated into the cathedral (and offering a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the text). Although the *passio* primarily describes the martyrdom of Ursicinus and his relationship to other well-established saints, it shares with the *inventio* of Probus and the *translatio* of Apollinaris one key element: in its conclusion, it commemorates the translation and installation of the saint's relics:

> More than 900 years after his martyrdom, when the bishop Honestus was occupying the see of Ravenna, wishing to set the holy body of this martyr in a place of honor and to make his seat more noble and more glorious, through the protection of the saints, and in that time of the imperial rule of Otto the greatest, with every respect he brought [the body] now raised up to the Ursinian church with the greatest devotion … and there in the crypt under the *avida* as it was decided he was to be buried in that way.[36]

Although the vita of Ursicinus differs from the tenth-century hagiographic texts of Apollinaris and Probus in many aspects, the fact that it ultimately serves to highlight the translation of his relics suggests that a large-scale consolidation of relics was at hand during the last half of the tenth century. Specifically in the case of the vita of Ursicinus, the archbishop Honestus

was portrayed as responsible for the process of taking the relics of this martyr firmly under the control of the church, further enhanced by the fact that they were being brought into the main cathedral of Ravenna (rather than one dedicated specifically to the saint, or to an institutional funerary basilica like Sant'Apollinare in Classe). The connection to Honestus is further reflected in the *inventio* of Probus, although the texts are dramatically different in their composition.

In its conclusion, the *Historia translationis beati Apolinaris* offers a similar approach to the text of the *passio* of Ursicinus, although setting the events in the reign of the archbishop John VII (850–878). The text describes external strains brought about by an Arab raid against Classe, in which the basilica of Sant'Apollinare was damaged, and the subsequent removal of the relics into the city. The text also takes on the hierarchy of churches in Italy and the status of Ravenna, as well as a history of the church that would become Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Clearly, the text commemorates the translation, but in its content also hints at other factors which may have been the impetus to record this particular *translatio* in the tenth century.

However, the dating of this text is extremely problematic. It survives only in the *Codex Estensis*, and has a definitive *terminus post quem* of 850 (the beginning of the archiepiscopate of John VII) and a *terminus ante quem* of 1173, when Sant'Apollinare in Classe and Sant'Apollinare Nuovo were reconciled as to who possessed the relics of their patron saint.[37] Verhoeven has described this text as a "twelfth century document," presumably generated during the feud between the two churches, while Golinelli suggests it is connected to the Guibert schism at the end of the eleventh century, and Tomea has argued for a date of the last decades of the tenth or the first of the eleventh.[38] Although he does not carry the argument forward, Tomea suggests that the vita of Barbatianus, the *translatio* of Apollinaris and the eleventh-century *passio* of Vitalis and Valeria were all connected to the monasteries dedicated to them in Ravenna.

If Tomea is correct, the growth of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo as a monastery in the tenth century, which is clearly visible in the preserved charters, as well as in the later conflict with Sant'Apollinare Classe, would have warranted some effort to commemorate the relics in their new home. The rivalry between Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and its sibling in Classe would have been especially fierce in light of the attention which Sant'Apollinare in Classe had received from the Ottonian emperors: Otto I made his palace in the nearby monastery of San Severo in the 960s; Otto II brought

the abbot of Cluny to the monastery in the 970s; and Otto III promoted its abbot to the rank of archbishop (and then entices his own candidate, Romuald, to take the post as abbot) and allegedly used the monastery to perform acts of penance. On the other hand, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo is not recorded as receiving imperial attention; to compensate, the *Historia translationis beati Apolinaris* offered its own illustrious history for the institution: that the church had been built by the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, redecorated and rededicated to Martin after the conquest by Justinian with the most expensive and lavish stone and mosaic, to such a degree that the king of the Vandals wished to despoil the precious materials.

Read together, both the *passio* of Ursicinus and the *translatio* of Apollinaris reinforce the notion that this new wave of hagiography was written in response to specific events and changes in Ravenna during the tenth century, and were efforts to reshape the past to suit contemporary challenges. With these new and appropriated myths and legends, it is clear that the vita of Barbatianus was not alone as a text composed in response to the shifting relationship between the city and the Saxon emperors, newly centralized power of the archbishops, support members of the local aristocracy and the growing demand for monastic reform. Indeed, the *inventio* of Probus incorporates reactions to these same external influences, but does so in a manner unlike any of Ravenna's other hagiographic texts.

3.4 The Long Perspective of the *Vita et Inventio Sancti Probi*

Probus, according to the *LPR* of Agnellus, was the sixth bishop of Ravenna; although if Apollinaris is considered the first, then he would be the seventh. No information was preserved as to how he obtained this role, although in the original *passio* of Apollinaris, his predecessors Aderitus, Eleucadius, Macianus and Calocerus were the men who had been elevated to clerical positions by Apollinaris himself. The tradition that these priests then became the first bishops of the city must have been in place in Late Antiquity, however, what little in the way of early legends about them was lost by the ninth century.

Even less is known about Probus, beyond the fact that a church (or a chapel) had been dedicated to him before the sixth century when renovations were undertaken by the Archbishop Maximian, and that an episcopal cult later developed at his church. What Agnellus offers by way of biography, compared with other early bishops who appeared in the *passio*

of Apollinaris, is laudatory but vague, focusing on the mid-ninth-century practices of, rather than on descriptions of, Probus's life:

> Probus, the sixth bishop, gentle and upright, shining in appearance, gleaming in work, wise of speech, judicious of heart, full of the grace of the Holy Spirit. Whosoever might come to him sick would return cured, by Probus's prayers, no matter to what sort of debility he had been subject. And he cast out impure spirits and made whole the wounded or broken bodies of the masses. At the close of his life, after he saw the angelic host, suddenly his holy soul slipped from his body on November 10. Then all the people in mourning buried his body with great reverence, and his tomb is venerated by us up to the present day; and his church is located to the east. And in no churches inside the city of Ravenna or Classe is the mass celebrated over the people except in this one alone. This said basilica was built next to the narthex of blessed Euphemia by the Sea, which we now see to have been demolished. He sat _ years, _ months, _ days.[39]

Even in Agnellus's time, the location of the church next to that of demolished Saint Euphemia was one of the many indications that the city had fallen onto dire times; yet it is clear that liturgical practice (perhaps of some antiquity) continued in the church dedicated to Probus. Just over a century after Agnellus described his church, Probus's life and his relics would be appropriated to celebrate ecclesiastic renewal and monastic reform, distinctive traits for a Ravennate text.

Despite its unique position and composition, the vita of Probus has garnered little scholarly interest. The most attention it has received has been in the overview of the hagiography of Ravenna in the high and late Middle Ages by Giampaolo Ropa, in the third volume of the *Storia di Ravenna*. After Ropa recapitulates the main actions and confusions within the text, he summarizes its position and contexts:

> The vita of Probus is a unique text. Instead of praising the church on which so much rests, it highlights the progressive liturgical-pastoral decline, arguing bitterly against the previous local custom of entrusting the custody of the holy places to secular clergy and monks; in effect this document, while recognizing the religious role played by Classe, tries to justify the removal of the relevant spiritual treasures moved into the city.[40]

Ropa further argues that the material in the vita of Probus becomes the basis for the *vitae* of other early bishops in the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries, and foreshadows the political and religious revivals of the eleventh century in Ravenna. He makes these claims based on the elaborate content of the *vita*, but it is worth further investigation, as the translation of the relics of Probus to the cathedral are presented just as those of Apollinaris are a century earlier, as recorded in his *translatio*. Despite this similarity, the tone of the two texts is dramatically different.

The modern editions break the vita of Probus into 12 irregular chapters, with each presenting a relatively self-contained episode.[41] The first chapter presents fictionalized etymologies of the name Probus, deriving them from acronym such as *PRO Bonis Vigilans Semper* ("always alert on behalf of good") and *Pius Rector in Omnibus Bene Viventibus* ("devout leader for all who live well"), while the second chapter reproduces the life as it appears in the *LPR*, with a short addition. The third chapter builds on a few mentions in Agnellus, describing the first translation of the relics of Probus into the church dedicated to him (which may have been a small cemetery church), and the decoration of the church by the archbishop Maximian in the sixth century.[42]

The following two chapters (4 and 5) present an abbreviated history of monastic and clerical operations in Ravenna and Classe. During the archiepiscopacy of Sergius (744–769), the vita mentions the establishment of an "order of monks at the church of blessed Apollinaris (Sant'Apollinare in Classe)," while at the same time, the church held an active group of clerics; this was problematic for the author of the *vita*, as the contemplative life of monks was incompatible with the worldly life of priests, and a solution was found in that the monks would have the church of Apollinaris, while the priests would operate out of the church of Probus.[43] The next chapter moves forward a half century, and described the renovation and redecoration of the church of Probus under the archbishop Valerius (ca. 789–810), and the decline in moral values of the communities of monks and priests.

Presumably after the Arab raid on Classe (which was described in the *vita* as being undertaken either by *Agareni* or confusingly by *Sclavini*, Slavs), the monastery was abandoned, the impetus for the translation of the relics of Apollinaris noted above occurring during the time of the archbishop John VII (850–878). The monks, however, did not flee to other monasteries or even adhere to the requirements of their vows, but rather carried on with "wicked actions" and "illicit acts." Especially concerning to the author of the vita of Probus was that these practices continued once the monastery had recovered:

> The monks, whom divine law does not allow to kiss anyone, hanging up their frocks in the monastery, and enjoying cohabitation with women (each one being able to withdraw from the brothers of the monastery), and then with the children born of these nefarious and illicit unions, they secretly brought back with them their beloved consorts.[44]

This scandalous behavior led to the abandonment of appropriate veneration, and of the churches and monasteries, to the point that "the church of the blessed Probus had been forgotten … yet never stripped of its sacredness" despite efforts to steal the relics of the saint.[45]

The sixth and seventh chapters of the vita of Probus jump forward another century to the time of archbishop Peter IV of Bologna (927–971), who is described as the advocate for bringing the relics of Probus into Ravenna, going so far as to consult with the nobles and clerics of the city before he began the endeavor. After they had been led as a procession to the church of Probus in Classe, those collected together were led by the vision of a monk, and calling upon local stonemasons, they were able to uncover a sarcophagus under the altar. The great vessel held the bodies not of one man but of three, and those in attendance determined that they were in fact Probus, Aderitus and Calocerus, although the author noted that the actual identities were still unknown, as they "did not find a single epigram or inscription."[46] The next chapter details the translation first to the church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe (in which the first healing miracle was performed by the relics), and ends with a 14-line poem. The next three chapters (9, 10 and 11) describe the final translation to the cathedral and the establishment of an altar dedicated by the "Bolognese" Bishop Peter IV on March 5; the healing of the deafness of the author of the vita at the altar; and the ultimate determination of the identities of the other early bishop-saints in Ravenna, concluding with a final chapter exhorting the listener to the efficacy and value of the veneration of Probus.

Before continuing with the relationship between the *vitae* of Probus and Barbatianus, it is worth noting that *vita* of Probus has the presumably narrowest period for its date of composition of any of the tenth-century hagiographies from Ravenna. From the internal evidence, the establishment of the altar takes place during the time of Peter IV of Bologna (927–971), and various dates from 963, 965, and 970 have been proposed for a *terminus post quem*.[47] This is bracketed by a very likely *terminus ante quem* of February of 974, when an additional altar is established for Probus by the archbishop Honestus and recorded in a charter:

> And therefore I, Honestus, by the mercy of Christ the humble archbishop, give, transfer, and set up in perpetuity the holy and venerable altar of the blessed Probus, confessor of Christ, within the church of our holy church of Ravenna [the Cathedral], where his sacred body has been placed by us, to be under the control and authority of both the schools known as "of the singers" and "of the readers," which is in its entirety our holding, that from antiquity was known as "de Molino," and that before these days it had returned to an abandoned state and recently looked to have been made newly reclaimed land with the help of Christ.[48]

The fact that the relics of Probus were acknowledged as having recently been in "an abandoned state" and translated into the cathedral corroborates the narrative of the *vita*, while the *terminus* of its composition would have been before the consecration of this new altar by Honestus, a change of status that certainly would have warranted mention.

In many ways, the vita of Probus is entirely unlike the vita of Barbatianus. While the vita of Barbatianus takes place entirely in the fifth century and was written as if created during that time, the vita of Probus takes the reader from the origins of Ravenna's early church in the second century during the little known life of the bishop, and follows his relics from the sixth to the eighth century, ending in the tenth century, contemporary to its composition. The author of the vita of Probus positions himself not only as a witness to the translation of the relics in the tenth century but also as a beneficiary of their curative powers, as opposed to the distant narrator of Barbatianus's life. While there would have been significant overlap in the constituencies of these two texts, the way in which they reach their aims differs substantially.

Another contrast between them is that the manuscript tradition for the vita of Probus proves that it had a significantly smaller zone of influence than that of the vita of Barbatianus, which is the most well-represented hagiographic text from tenth-century Ravenna in liturgical compilations. In the most recent edition of the Probus's vita for the *Acta Sanctorum*, Delehaye lists only three manuscripts.[49] The oldest manuscript, Vaticanus Latinus 1190, is a twelfth-century *legendarium* originally from Ravenna that includes of a number of Ravennate saints, including the life of the Bishop Peter Chrysologus (derived from Agnellus's *LPR*, and originally part of a different manuscript); the Bishop Apollinaris; the martyr Ursicinus; and includes two separate fourteenth- or fifteenth-century comments as to the ownership: "the book [belongs] to the church of Saint

John in Marmorata near the fortified gate of Anastasius [now called the Porta Serrata] in Ravenna," and at the end of the volume "assigned to me and the sacristy of the church of Ravenna by Bartholomeus de Zenariis of Ravenna."[50] The two other manuscripts are the fifteenth-century *Codex Estensis*, and one of the volumes collected by the Bollandists (now KBR Codex 8936).[51]

In this case, the scarcity of the *vitae* of Ursicinus and Probus in liturgical compilations suggests the truly local nature of these saints, especially with the life of Probus, the impact of which only makes sense in the city where the relics were located and the miracles performed, centered on the church of Ravenna as well as its history of monastic and ecclesiastic reforms.

There are also similarities between the *vitae* of Barbatianus and Probus: in terms of their construction, both rely on other sources; for Barbatianus, the *Libri pontificalis* of Rome and Ravenna and the *Miracula* of Cyrus and John, and for Probus the *LPR*. While the second chapter of the vita of Probus was directly taken from Agnellus, other sections directly address the compilation of the material. After his discussion of the first reinterment of the relics of Probus by Maximian as part of the renewal of the saint's church in the sixth century, the anonymous author comments that "we added material from a different source," although makes no mention of his sources.[52]

The strongest similarities are objectives of the two *vitae*. Both worked to restore or create a narrative of the past supporting the sanctity of each saint: one through the relics lost and found, and the other through miraculous healing and tending of the sick. Both are ultimately successful in raising the profile of their saints within Ravenna, but in the case of Barbatianus also beyond the city. Both suggest that there had been a strong desire to seek legitimacy by recrafting and appropriating the past in the last quarter of the tenth century. Ultimately, these works captured the beginnings of the growing movement in Ravenna toward the importance of the archbishop in reforming the city in the case of Probus, and importance of monastic reform and public eremitic practice in the case of Barbatianus.

The corpus of new hagiographic material emerging from Ravenna in the tenth century indicates that its clerics and monks were well versed in composing texts to suit their varied needs and constituencies; however, apart from Barbatianus, the new texts primarily support the established power of the archbishop, even over monastic communities. At their core,

the vita of Probus, the *translatio* of the relics of Apollinaris and the *passio* of Ursicinus direct readers toward the seat of the archbishop in the cathedral, where relics were translated in the tenth century (Probus and Ursicinus, both connected to the Bishop Honestus). At its core, the vita of Barbatianus represents something very different; it is an attempt to provide a text which could authenticate the patron of a local monastery, with only a passing mention of the role of the bishop (in the case of confirming his sanctity at death); and a life set in the period of imperial Ravenna that had been renewed with the arrival of the Ottonian emperors. By forgoing a contemporary history for the saint and his relics (notable especially in that the most prominent relic of the sandal of John the Evangelist was not known), the author of the vita of Barbatianus blazed a unique trail for the legend of the saint within the hagiographic landscape of the city and the surrounding regions.

3.5 New Monastic Hagiography in Eleventh-Century Ravenna

The epilogue to the hagiographic production of Ravenna in the tenth century is best represented by a single figure: Romuald of Ravenna. Although born and raised in Ravenna and active in the city during various critical moments of the last quarter of the tenth century, his career in establishing and reforming monastic institutions which blended communal life with the aims of ascetic and eremitic practice left lasting legacies far beyond the confines of its ancient walls. The communities he founded and the followers he inspired provoked two reformers of the subsequent generation, Bruno of Querfurt and Peter Damian, to create hagiographic texts incorporating Romuald's activities. Their texts, the *Vita quinque fratrum* and the *Vita Romualdi*, describe the lives and miracles of near contemporaries, as neither had the necessity to establish late antique *bona fides* of the tenth-century *vitae*; the strength of their eremitically minded predecessor Romuald had been well known, and his miracles connected to practices available to any willing to enter into a spiritually focused community.

Romuald was born to a ducal family in Ravenna in 951, the same year Otto took up the title of *rex Francorum et Italicorum*. As a young man, after a crisis of conscience brought about by witnessing his father murder his uncle, he escaped to Sant'Apollinare in Classe, where a vision of Apollinaris led to his conversion to a monastic life in the early 970s.[53]

After taking vows there, he began to travel, following various holy men until he began to lead communities of his own, and founding those like the ascetically rigorous monastery in Camaldoli, among others. Although he left no writing of his own, his life was documented by Peter Damian, who was born in Ravenna in 1007, and whose connection to Romuald began in earnest when he joined the monastery of Fonte Avellana in 1035.

In the vita of Damian, the environment of Ravenna in the second half of the tenth century proved to be essential for Romuald in the formation of his early monastic sensibilities and his belief in the capacity to reform institutions. In Romuald's Ravenna, the effects of Cluniac reform must have been substantial, especially given the fact that his conversion took place in Sant'Apollinare in Classe, a church had been reformed either just before or during his first stay there in the 970s. Damian would have been aware of this type of practice, as in the 1030s or 1040s, the monastery of Farfa, north of Rome, would adopt Cluniac customs, and even in this period when he was still in Ravenna, the city was known for its maintenance of Cluny's reforms.[54]

Despite the presence of Cluny throughout Italy, it was the new breed of eremitic monasticism and ascetic holy men who inspired Damian; since the reign of Otto III, Italy had become central to their practices, blending the mortification and abstinence of early eastern desert fathers with communal life, local traditions and institutions.[55] With roots in Italy in the tenth century (and the capability to absorb and reform local monastic customs), the movement spread across Europe, becoming well established between England and the eastern frontiers of the Holy Roman Empire.[56] Damian's *Vita Romualdi*, rather than reflecting on the life of the saint, brought into focus the problems of contemporary monasticism and the efficacy of eremitic and spiritual practices to solve them. His choice in hagiography was remarkably consistent: while he would author a series of sermons to honor some of Ravenna's saints during their feasts while in the city in the 1040s (including Barbatianus), he composed *vitae* expressly for contemporary monastic leaders, including Romuald. The period of Ravennate hagiography on relics and their late antique owners ended with Romuald's rise, although with visible monuments throughout the city, they remained the essential local core of the hagiography landscape.

Despite renewed focus on contemporary holy figures, the practice of "reviving" late antique saints was never abandoned, as the draw of ancient precedents remained powerful. In Normandy, for example, Taurinus of Éveraus, Vigor of Bayeux and Nicasius of Rouen all received the same

kind of treatment in the tenth and eleventh centuries as Barbatianus with the composition of vita and the reemergence of their relics. However, rather than attempt to tie a city back to its late antique and imperial past, their legends were promulgated to support local cults, monasteries and relics in an effort to "strengthen ducal authority both within and beyond Normandy."[57] Yet more often than not, hagiographical reports of contemporary figures, the patrons and former leaders of the communities of belief like Romuald were employed in order to foster an identity and codes of behavior for these new communities

Notes

1. "L'hagiographie de Ravenne est écrite sur les murs de ses basiliques. Les premiers documents que l'on songe à consulter sont les mosaïques dont elles sont ornées, les inscriptions, les édifices eux-mêmes, qui sont debout ou dont au moins on reconnaît les vestiges." Hippolytus Delehaye, "L'hagiography ancienne de Ravenne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1929): 5.
2. Other than a mention of the vita of Barbatianus as one of the contributions of Lanzoni, Delehaye ignores the saint.
3. On Agnellus's use of various types of sources, see the Deliyannis chapter, "The text and its sources" in her introduction to the edition of Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, CCCM 199 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 19–52.
4. On the *Liber Pontificalis* of Rome as a prototype for the genre, see Michel Sot, *Gesta Episcoporum*, *Gesta Abbatum*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), 32–33.
5. Ruggero Benericetti, *Il pontificale di Ravenna*: *studio critico* (Faenza: Seminario Vescovile Pio XIII, 1994), 11–12. Deliyannis summarizes the positions on the creation of the *Codex*; that it was compiled as part of record of property transferred from the church of Ravenna to the dukes of Ferrara (Testi-Rasponi), or more likely was the product of a church canon Paulo Scordilla for "his own personal use" according to Augusto Vasina. Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 54; "Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis"; Augusto Vasina, "La fortuna di Agnello ravennate fino al XVI secolo," in *Lineamenti culturali dell'Emilia-Romagna*: *Antiquariato*, *erudizione*, *storiografia dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, ed. Augusto Vasina (Ravenna: Longo, 1978).
6. For an overview of the development of these cults as part of Ravenna's liturgical practices, see Giovanni Montanari, "Culto e liturgia a Ravenna dal IV al IX secolo," in *Storia di Ravenna II.2*: *Dall'età Bizantina all'età*

Ottoniana: *Ecclesiologia*, *cultura e arte*, ed. Antonio Carile (Ravenna: Marsilio Editori, 1992), 265–6.

7. It is also worth noting here as well that many of the most popular saints of Ravenna traveled together in the same lectionaries. For example, Ms. Brussels KBR 3129 (formerly 64), a Tosco-Emilian lectionary of the eleventh century, includes the lives of Apollinaris, Peter Chrysologus, Severus, Barbatianus and Vitalis (see Appendix 3).
8. The *Passio sancti Apollinaris*, the main source for his life, was most likely written in the sixth or seventh century, and survives in a number of manuscripts from the ninth century, including some with non-Italian provenances (such as Chartres BM 63 (115 1/8)). On the *Passio* of Apollinaris and its use in Agnellus, see Deliyannis's introduction in *Agnelli Ravennatis Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 199, 94–7.
9. The traditions concerning these founders "reflect the competition between various bishoprics, especially in those cases—such as Milan, Ravenna, and Aquileia, where not just prestige, but also the justification of autonomy, authority and jurisdiction was at issue." Mark Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*: *Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy*, *AD 200–400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 69. Apollinaris is also the only major saint of eastern origins (other than Barbatianus) who had an established cult in Ravenna, although other cities, such as Ferrara and Venice, had their own early eastern saints (in George and Theodorus, respectively). Enrico Morini, "Santi Orientali a Ravenna," in *Storia di Ravenna II.2*: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, ed. Antonio Carile (Ravenna: Comune di Ravenna; Marsilio Editori, 1992).
10. See Palardy's introduction in Peter Chrysologus, *Selected Sermons*, *vol. 2*, trans. William B. Palardy, Fathers of the Church, A New Translation 109 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 3.
11. For the history and background of these two churches, see Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 146–74, 259–74; Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 43–46, 50–52.
12. On the issues relating to the renaming and rededication of the church, see Arthur Urbano, "Donation, Dedication and *Damnatio Memoriae*: The Catholic Reconciliation of Ravenna and the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13 (2005).
13. Although he does not comment in great detail on this particular apse mosaic, Beat Brink notes the aniconic nature of the mosaic, with "the figure of Christ replaced with a gem studded cross in a mandorla"; although the appearance of a cross in apse decorations was widely dispersed in the east. Beat Brenk, *The Apse*, *the Image and the Icon*: *An Historical Perspective of the Apse as a Space for Images* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2010), 28.

14. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 267. Because of its unusual iconography, the program of the apse mosaic has received a significant amount of attention and its uniqueness has been frequently noted within the entire corpus of church apse decoration. Ihm notes that "Das Apsismosaik in S. Apollinare in Classe ist ein Einzelfall in der Kunstgeschichte und steht völlig isoliert," connects the image to a pilgrim flask: Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1960), 167. On the other hand, Dinkler draws parallels to manuscripts, especially to representations of the transfiguration: Erich Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe* (Cologne: Westdeuscher Verlag, 1964); Giovanni Montanari, "L'apside di S. Apollinare in Classe di Ravenna: Mistero centrale, anamnesi ed eucaristia," in *Ravenna*: *L'iconologia*: *Saggi di interpretazione culturale e religiosa dei cicli musivi* (Ravenna: A. Longo, 2002); Claudia Müller, "Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe: Eine Strukturanalyse," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1980). See further: Giovanni Montanari, "L'apside di S. Apollinare in Classe di Ravenna: Mistero centrale, anamnesi ed eucaristia," in *Ravenna*: *L'iconologia*: *Saggi di interpretazione culturale e religiosa dei cicli musivi* (Ravenna: A. Longo, 2002); Claudia Müller, "Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe: Eine Strukturanalyse," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1980).
15. Many aspects of the apse mosaic and the figure of Apollinaris may have been restored and reworked since their installation in the sixth century. Maria Cristina Pelà, *La decorazione musiva della basilica ravennate di S. Apollinare in Classe* (Bologna: Editrice Pàtron, 1970), 53–89; Mario Mazzotti, *La basilica di Sant'Apollinare in Classe* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana, 1954), 173; Irina Andreescu-Treadgold, "The Emperor's New Crown and St. Vitalis' New Clothes," in *Seminario internazionale sul tema*: "*Ravenna*, *Costantinopoli*, *Vicino Oriente*"; *Ravenna*, *12–16 settembre 1994*; *in memoria di Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann*, ed. Raffaella Farioli Campananti (Ravenna: 1995).
16. The ninth-century translation is described in a twelfth-century text preserved in the *Codex Estensis*, the *Historia translationis Beati Apollinaris*. On the issues relating to the locations of the relics, see Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 65–71.
17. The text of the inscription presented in Agnellus's *Liber Pontificalis* differs from the surviving inscription, in that it also names the bishop Ursicinus, who authorized the construction of the church and changes the order in which the other details are presented; more critically, it omits the translations of the saint's body. Ibid., 51.

18. + IN HOC · LOCO · STETIT · ARCA · BEATI · APOLENARIS SACERDOTIS / ET · CONFESSORIS · A TEMPORE · TRANSITVS SVI · USQUE · DIAE · / QUA · PER · VIRUM · BEAT[um] MAXIMIANVM · EPISCOPVM TRANSLATA EST / ET INTRODUCTA · IN BASILICA ·QVAM IVLIANUS ARGENTARIVS / A FVNDAMENTIS AEDIFICAVIT · ET · DEDICATA AB EODEM VIRO / BEATI *SS* · D̄ · VII · I D̄ · MAIARVM · IN D̄ DVODE C̄ · OCTIES *PC* · BASILI · IVN. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei secoli VI – VII – VIII esistenti in Italia*, *vol. III*: *Esarcato*, *Pentapoli e Tuscia*, 22, no. 8.
19. On the complexities of the text, its dating and its use by Agnellus, see Deliyannis's introduction to Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 39–43; Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 56–65.
20. The *Liber Pontificalis* posited his death in the time of the emperor Vespasian ("Temporibus Vespasiani caesaris martirio coronatus est") following the text of the *Passio* ("Martyrizatus est autem beatissimus Apollinaris sacerdos …. in civitate Ravenna sub Vespasiano caesare").
21. Many of the cults outside of Italy were developed much later, mostly in connection to the dispersal of the saint's relics. The one exception may be in Dijon, where monks from Ravenna may have helped establish the nearby monastery of St. Benigne. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 72. A summary version of his *Passio* is also included in the ninth-century *Martyrologia* of Ado of Vienne, *PL* 123, col 305d–307d.
22. Société des Bollandistes, "BHLms: Index analytique des Catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques latins publiés par les Bollandistes," http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/. Some of the ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts which contain the *passio* include MS Paris BNF Latin 5299 (ninth century, from the region of Orléans), and MS Paris BNF Latin 5310 (tenth or eleventh century, Northern France).
23. The creation of this fictitious letter can be understood as part of the competition between Ravenna and Milan for ownership of saints that possessed established cults in both cities. "The variety of hagiograpical forgeries was infinite …. even to promote national causes. Ademar of Chabannes wanted to prove the apostolicity of St. Martial, and the vita of St. Servatius was designed to sanctify the reign of Henry IV and to assert the independence of bishops of Tongres by showing that their power derived directly from St. Peter." Giles Constable, "Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages," *Archiv für Dilpolmatik* 29 (1983): 9–10. On the process of medieval letter forgeries in general, see "Forged letters in the Middle Ages," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, *t. 5*, MGH Schriften 33 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1988).

24. Ambrose notes that Milan, like Ravenna, had been "once barren of martyrs, but now the mother of many" due to the discovery of a number of relics. The discovery of the relics of these saints is addressed by Ambrose in *Ep. 22*, while their translation and establishment in a basilica is noted in the *vita* of Ambrose by Paulinus of Milan.
25. *Passio sanctorum martyrum Gervasii et Protasii* , Epistolae ex Ambrosianarum numero segregatae Ep 2.7 (PL 17), col. 821–825.
26. "praestat orationibus vel intercessionibus suis beneficia omnibus credentibus Jesum Christum usque in hodiernum diem." Ibid.
27. Gervasius and Protasius were not only integrated into Ravenna's local venerative practices but were adopted in Tours as well, where their relics were said to have been taken to either pay homage to Ambrose's contemporary Martin of Tours, or by Martin himself, as tools to combat the heresy of Arianism. Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 17. The power of these saints is well known, and in the early sixth century, Eugippius relates a story of the relics of the martyrs traveling to Noricum, their discovery in the marketplace and their installation into the monastery of Severinus (*Vita Severini* IX).
28. On the hagiography of Vitalis and his cult, see the numerous contributions in Gina Fasoli, ed. *Vitale e Agricola*: *Il culto dei protomartiri di Bologna attraverso i secoli nel XVI centerario della translatione* (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1993). On the legend of Vitalis and the construction of the church, see Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 223–54.
29. For an overview of the struggle between these cities for political authority through the cult of saints, and Gervaius, Protasius and Vitalis, see: Filippo Carlà, "Milan, Ravenna, Rome: Some Reflections on the Cult of the Saints and on Civic Politics in Late Antique Italy," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 2 (2010).
30. The two manuscripts are the *Codex Estensis* (which also contains the life of Barbatianus) and *Vat. Lat.* 5834, both of which are compilations of material relating to the history of the Church of Ravenna assembled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, respectively.
31. The vita of Peter Chrysologus is known from a range of manuscripts, with six dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and other than scribal errors, are identical to the version presented in the *Liber Pontificalis.* The life is cataloged as BHL 6770; for a detailed account and stemma of the *vita*, see Deliyannis's introduction in Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 56–8. The hagiographic literature of Severus is known in far more manuscripts and includes a number of permutations based on the expansions of the cult: BHL 7680, a *vita* based on the *Liber Pontificalis* found in manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh cen-

turies, and two additional variants (BHL 7680b, 7680g, 7684d, and 7684m); a life by Liutolf of Mainz (BHL 7681); a sermon from the eleventh century (BHL 7683 and 7684); and an entirely different life (BHL 7684b). Ibid., 58–67.

32. BHL 8410, BHL 626, BHL 6946 and BHL 972, respectively. Paolo Tomea, "L'agiografia dell'Italia Settentrionale (950–1130)," in *Hagiographies*: *Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, *vol. 3*, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001). Tomea dates three other hagiographic texts to the eleventh century: two *vitae* of Severus (BHL 7684 and 7684b), and a *passio* of the martyrs Vitalis and Valeria (BHL 8704).
33. "Vocatur nunc ecclesia Sancti Apollinaris novi, non quia de novo sit tempore aedificata Basilica … sed eo quod noviter suae traslationi sit dedicata." *Historia translationis beati Apolinaris*, 535, col. 1C.
34. "Apud Ravennam, sancti Ursicini martyris, qui sub iudice Paulino post nimia tormenta in confessione Domini immobilis permanens, capitis abscisione martyrium consummavit. Sepultusque est in eadem urbe a beato Vitale patre sanctorum Gervasii ac Protasii." Ado of Vienne, *Martyrologium* June 19 (*PL* 123), 288D.
35. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 77.
36. "Ultra nongentos annos passionis eius quum Honestus antistes praesideret Ravennaticae Sedi, volens huius martyris sanctum corpum honorabilius collocare, suamque sedem sanctorum patrociniis facere meliorem, ac gloriosiorem, tempore caesareatus Ottonis maximi, omni reverentia sublevatum cum summa devotione ad Ursianam devexit Ecclesiam … ibique in crypta sub avida usque modo constat esse sepultum" *Passio sancti Ursicini*, 562, col. 2D. The meaning of the term *avida* is unknown.
37. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 65.
38. Paolo Golinelli, "Italia Settentrionale (1130–1220)," in *Hagiographies*: *Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, *vol. 1*, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), 138–9; Tomea, "L'agiografia dell'Italia Settentrionale (950–1130)," 135, n. 87.
39. "Probus .vi., mitis et pius, clarus in specie, fulgidus in opere, sapiens eloquiis, prudens corde, plenus gratia Spiritus sancti. Quicunque languidus ad eum uenire potuisset, suis orationibus saluus reuertebatur, quacunque fuisset infirmitate detentus. Et spiritus inmundos expulit atque cateruarum corpora sauciata vel dissoluta solidabat. Postquam suae ad occasum uitae angelica conspexit agmina, statim sancta elapsa est de corpore anima quatuor Idus Novenbris. Deinde cunctus lugendo populus cum nimia corpus

eius reuerentia sepeliuit, et sepulcrum ipsius apud nos ueneratur usque in praesentem diem; et illius ecclesia sita est in partibus orientis. Et in nullis ecclesiis infra ciuitatem Rauennae Classinue missa super populum celebratur nisi in ista sola. Aedificata est iam dicta basilica iuxta ardicam beatae Euphemiae quae uocatur ad mare, qua nunc demolitam esse uidemus. Sedit autem annos …, menses …, dies" *LPR* 8. Translation: Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, 107–8. One of the more contentious issued raised by Agnellus's description is what he meant by the phrase *missa super populum* in relationship to the church, although it like referred to an older liturgical practice; see Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 259.

40. Giampaolo Ropa, "Agiografia e liturgia a Ravenna tra alto e basso Medioevo," in *Storia di Ravenna III*: *Dal mille alla fine della signoria polentana*, ed. Augusto Vasina (Ravenna: Marsilio, 1991).
41. The modern critical edition of the *vita et inventio* of Probus (as BHL 6946), which appears in the manuscripts in which it survives as *Vita beati Probi archiepiscopi Ravennatis*, was published in the *Acta Sanctorum*: "De S. Probo episcopo ravennate," in *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, *t. IV*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye and Paulo Peeters (Brussels: Socieity of the Bollandists, 1925). An early edition was included in Ludovico Muratori, ed. *Rerum italicarum scriptores 1.2* (Milan: 1725), 554–7.
42. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 88–89.
43. "beati Apolenaris ecclesiam monachorum ordine" *Vita Probi* 4.
44. "Coenobitae, quibus fas non est ulli osculum praebere, monasterium flocci pendentes, mulierum consortiis utentes, quaeque poterant a fratribus monasterii auferentes, nefariis illicitisque natis, consortiis etiam sibi caris ferebant latenter." *Vita Probi* 5.
45. "ecclesia beati Probi devenerat oblita statutis obsequiis, numquam privata tamen divinis." *Vita Probi* 5.
46. "quia nihil annotationis vel inscriptionis repererunt" *Vita Probi* 8.
47. Tomea, "L'agiografia dell'Italia Settentrionale (950–1130)," 136, n. 91. Benericetti stands by a date of 963; Benericetti, *Il pontificale di Ravenna*: *studio critico*, 158. I suspect that it dates to at least after 967, when it is clear that Peter IV has the complete support of Otto I and the internal discord that likely plagued the aristocracy earlier in the decade had diminished.
48. "Ideoque et ego Honestus Xristi misericordia humilis archiepiscopus donamus seu transferimus et in perpetuo transactamus in sancto ac venerabili altario Beati Probi confessoris Xristi infra ecclesiam sancte nostre Ravennatis ecclesie, ubi sacrum euis corpus a nobis collocatum est, sub dominio et potestate ambarum scolarum scilicet cantorum et lectorum,

idest curtem nostrum in integro que antiquitus vocabatur de Molino, que ante hos dies in desertis redacta fuit et modo Xristo auxiliante noviter roncora facta esse videtur." *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo*: *Archivio arcivescovile II*: *957–976*, 253–56. no. 181.

49. "De S. Probo episcopo ravennate," 476.
50. "Liber ecclesie Sancti Iohannis ad Marmoratas de Burgo porte Anestaxii de Ravenna" and "assignatus michi et sacriste ecclesie Ravenn(atis) per dominum Bartholomeum de Zenariis de Ravenna," respectively Vat. Lat. 1190, 6r and 263v. Albertus Poncelet, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Subsidia Hagiographica 11 (Brussels: Society of the Bollandists, 1910), 34–41. The family of the de Zenariis is known from documents of fourteenth-century Ravenna, and occupied a position of minor nobility and as *notarii*. For example, in ratification of the treaty between Venice and Ravenna composed in 1336, the sections produced in Ravenna were written by "Bonavenure, son of sir Antonius de Zenariis"; the son attests his position as *imperiali auctoritate notarius*. Pietro Desiderio Pasolini, ed. *Documenti riguardanti antiche relazioni fra Venezia e Ravenna* (Imola: D'Ignazio Galeati e Figlio, 1881), 61–66.
51. The Bollandist manuscript, although of a much later date, was the basis for Delehaye's edition of the vita of Probus. The Brussels manuscript reportedly takes the life from the monastery of Bödeken in Paderborn.
52. "addimus quod aliunde" *De sancto Probo* 3. The section in the vita which discusses the role of Maximian does not follow the text of Agnellus's *Liber Pontificalis*.
53. On his monastic conversion, see Edward Schoolman, "The Monastic Conversion of Romuald of Ravenna and the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe," (Forthcoming).
54. H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970). Ravenna is mentioned as a seat of important Clunic monastic practice in Hugo of Farfa's *Relatio Constitutionis*.
55. Jean-Marie Sansterre, "Otton III et les saints ascètes de son temps," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 43 (1989); "Le monachisme bénédictin d'Italie et les bénédictins italiens en France face au renouveau de l'érémitisme à la fin du X^{e} et au XI^{e} siècle," in *Eremites de France et d'Italie* (*XI^{e}–XV^{e} siècle*), ed. André Vauchez (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003).
56. On the Italian origins of and connections to eremitic practice throughout medieval Europe, see Tom Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society*, *950–1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 27–32; Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude*: *Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008); Henrietta

Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism*: *A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe*, *1000–1150* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 29–34. Even Cluny was not immune to the influence of eremitic practices; from the late eleventh and into the twelfth century, it offered "provision for eremitical retreats and private devotions by [its] members." Giles Constable, "Eremitical Forms of Monastic Life," in *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente*, *1123–1215* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1980; reprint, Giles Constable, *Monks*, *Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988)).

57. Samantha Khan Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past*: *Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 49.

CHAPTER 4

The History of the *Vita Barbatiani*

4.1 History of the *Vita Barbatiani*

Although this book considers the medieval contexts and the historical aspects of Barbatianus from his late antique connections to Rome, Ravenna and Galla Placidia in the fifth century, to the reception of his legend in the late Middle Ages as a lens for exploring the world of medieval Ravenna and the place of hagiography, it is only possible by considering the legend of the saint. The most important source for Barbatianus's life was a tenth-century *vita*, commonly appearing with the title of *Acta sancti barbatani presbyteris et confessoris*.[1] It survives in several different types of medieval compilations, but frequently appeared in calendrical *legendaria* designed to be used as liturgical books in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, along with broader hagiographic collections listed in Appendix 3. It was also included in one distinctive non-hagiographic compilation, the fifteenth-century codex from the Biblioteca Estense in Modena commonly known as the *Codex Estensis*, in which various materials directly related to the history of Ravenna, including the *LPR* of Agnellus, were collected.[2] Apart from this, all other appearances in collections of saints's lives are easily divided into three categories: those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries tracing their geographic origin to Ravenna and its dependencies in Romagna; those from Tuscany from the same period; and those from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries included in universal collections inspired by or derived from the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine. It is in this form, as part

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2_4

of a massive compilation, that the first (and only) medieval Italian translation of the vita of Barbatianus survives: as one part in a collection of hagiographic texts in the Veneto dialect preserved in Venice.[3]

The *editio princeps* of the *Vita Barbatiani* was published in 1708 by Benedetto Bacchini based on the version of the text in the *Codex Estensis*, and appeared as an appendix to his edition of the *LPR*.[4] Bacchini's edition included a number of other texts from that manuscript which related to the history of Ravenna, and were published, often for the first time, along with the text of Agnellus.[5] With no major changes, this first edition of the *vita* of Barbatianus was also included as part of the appendix to the edition of the *LPR* published by Muratori in *Rerum italicarum scriptores* in 1723; the same text was later adopted into the *Patrologia Latina* in 1864.[6]

However, long before Bacchini's edition, material about the life of Barbatianus circulated in print in the form of an abridged version of the *Vita Barbatiani*. It appeared in the *Catalogus sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diversis voluminibus collectus* of Petrus de Natalibus, first printed in Vicenza in 1493, but compiled in the late fourteenth century.[7] As a printed book, de Natalibus's *Caralogus* often featured woodcuts in place of the illuminated initials of manuscripts, and was very popular as it went through a number of printings throughout the seventeenth century.[8] For this compilation, the abbreviated version of the *vita* of Barbatianus was derived directly from the *vita* with no further additions. In this way, it followed a similar pattern of abridgment found in an earlier collection of hagiographic epitomes collected or composed in Northern Italy by Pietro Calò in the middle of the fourteenth century, which also included a longer, yet still abridged, version of the *vita*.[9]

The modern critical edition, which also included the first complete study of the *vita*, was published by Francesco Lanzoni in 1909; this edition was a significant improvement over the work of Bacchini two centuries earlier due to the use of three additional manuscripts containing the *Vita Barbatiani*.[10] In the commentary for his edition, Lanzoni made two crucial observations about the composition of the *vita*. First, the four versions of the *vita* available to him were not directly related, but descended from the same archetype, a factor which suggested both an earlier dating for the creation of the vita and variants related to its diffusion (however, a consequence of Lanzoni's aim to offer an archetype led him to normalize the differences among the extant copies which helped to provide a history of the text's journey beyond Ravenna). Second, that the *vita* included significant material taken from sources originally independent of

Barbatianus, such as the *miracula* of Sophronius's Greek account of the Egyptian saints Cyrus and John, reliance on the *LPR* and some details taken from the Roman *Liber pontificalis.*

Given this discovery, the *vita* of Barbatianus as a hagiographic narrative continued to have a lackluster modern reception. In Lanzoni's own edition, he carefully disassembles the material aggregated to form the miracles and background to the life of Barbatianus, and labors to assign a chronology for the *vita* by rejecting the earlier attempt to position the author as an eyewitness to the events. Instead, Lanzoni essentially calls this act of appropriation a theft, and offers no praise for the crafting of the *vita*, which was in fact a careful practice in incorporating both original material and existing sources.[11]

As was common for editors of the period, Lanzoni focused primarily on the text as a work of hagiography without offering significant thought to its possible value as a historical source, in terms of both the text's reflection on the late antique past and the complexities of its creation and subsequent diffusion, which further doomed serious consideration of the *vita* for the following century. This is first echoed in Albertus Poncelet's review of Lanzoni's edition, describing the *Acta* as "a pure hagiographic novel," as opposed to a *vita* from which historical material could be derived.[12] Although he appears in the *LPR* and must have had at least some known status dating before the ninth century, Barbatianus does not warrant an appearance in the study on Ravenna's early hagiography by Hippolytus Delehaye.[13] In works focused on the architecture of the city, Barbatianus often appears in passing in the analyses of the account of his burial, the problematic history of the building, and the dedication of his church offered in the *writing* of Agnellus.[14] Even more dynamic discussions of the saint have focused on the unreliability of the life as a historical or useful text, irrespective of its value as a literary and cultural one; while Mariëtte Verhoeven dedicates an entire subchapter to Barbatianus in her work on the monuments of Ravenna and their medieval and early modern afterlife, she limits the value of the hagiography, offering the title of "An Invented Saint" to describe his legacy.[15] Typical acknowledgments of his existence are often relegated to footnotes, where following the language of Poncelet, his *vita* is referenced as "clearly a work of pious fiction."[16]

A closer examination of the text and its context proves that while the pure historical value of a direct reading of the content of the *vita* of Barbatianus as a history of the fifth century may be limited, this is typical for hagiography especially of this type: "The difficulties involved in using

hagiographic materials for the reconstruction of history are notorious. This is particularly true of *vitae* which are fundamentally literary rather than historical or biographical in purpose."[17] Ultimately, the *vita* offers a rich source for understanding the cultural context of the period in which it was composed, and offers an avenue for investigating Barbatianus's late antique setting and the hagiographic landscapes of medieval Ravenna.[18]

4.2 Dating the *Vita Barbatiani*

Along with early medieval evidence of his cult, church and monastery, the date of the composition of the *vita* has been a major aspect of the scholarship around Barbatianus relative to other aspects of his legend. While the majority of the evidence for dating the *vita* to the late tenth century is internal, some support for the relative dating is offered in other sources. It has long been recognized that the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Vita Barbatiani* has been defined by references to it in the sermon of Peter Damian given on the feast of Barbatianus in 1044–1045, in which he paraphrases some of the healing miracles that were taken originally from the *miracula* of Cyrus and John. Lanzoni was the first to argue explicitly for this dating, suggesting a range "from 700 to 1000 AD" for its composition; however, as it relies on at least some of the text of the *LPR* of Agnellus, a dating of 850–1000 is more appropriate, which has become the standard for most who have since written about the text.[19]

More complicated has been a *terminus post quem* for the period of its composition. Given that the author of the *vita* had access to a Latin translation of the *miracula* of Cyrus and John, and it is possible that it was the version completed by Bonifatius Consularius at the end of the eighth century, the life could have been written as early as that period. While there may be enough differences to support the argument that the Latin translation being used in the *vita* belongs to Bonifatius rather than to Anastasius Bibliothecarus, there is no evidence to suggest when these *miracula* were used in the composition of the *vita* of Barbatianus and how they were obtained in Ravenna.

While we cannot say with certainty when the text was composed from the internal evidence, as Lanzoni himself asserted more than a century ago, there are additional external factors which allow us to narrow the chronological period of its composition to the second half of the tenth century, and perhaps even the last quarter. First, as noted by Lazoni, the

vita includes material which seems to have been taken directly from the life of Barbatianus in the *LPR*. Second, the content of the *vita* highlights and asserts a connection between Ravenna's physical features and the imperial household, likely telescoping the fifth-century imperial household with that of the Ottonians who come to Italy in 951. Third, the figure of Barbatianus represents a model of urban monastic practice and eremitism which would have been desired by the burgeoning monastic communities in Ravenna especially in the last quarter of the tenth century. Fourth, the *vita* served as the foundation legend for a church dedicated to Barbatianus (along with John the Baptist) that rose to prominence in the last half of the tenth century. Finally, the focus of the *vita* fit with much of the tenth-century hagiography from the city reflecting with its distant past, but the changing nature of hagiography in Italy would have made the revival of a late antique saint less effective in the eleventh century.

Although the *vita* may have existed in some form in the middle of the ninth century when Agnellus composed the *LPR*, the kernel of material that was integrated into an institutional history of the bishops and archbishops of Ravenna was from a separate tradition. Rather than from a text, Agnellus suggests that he knew of the saint from an inscription connected with his burial:

> In the time of the Empress Galla Placidia, as we have found written, the same Peter Chrysologus with the above-mentioned empress preserved the body of blessed Barbatianus with aromatic spices and buried him with great honor not far from the Ovilian gate. And he consecrated the church of Sts. John and Barbatianus, which Baduarius built.[20]

The use of "as we have found written" (*sicut scriptum reperimus*) by Agnellus seems to have been much more common for reporting a known inscription rather than a text, and he uses the term a number of times in other contexts of epigraphy. Furthermore, this particular statement about Barbatianus was nestled between two other, larger, stories relating to the bishop Peter Chrysologus; his consecration along with Projectus, the bishop of Imola, and an elaborate narration of his death.[21] The placement of this scene, which does little in the way of promoting the bishop or Ravenna, seems to be part of Agnellus's grand program of monument cataloging, and at the very least provides firm evidence of the veneration of Barbatianus in the ninth century and the existence of his tomb and church preceding it.

With respect to the *vita*, however, there are parallels in language. For example, compared with description from Agnellus above, the *vita* provides significantly more detail:

> That most holy bishop, father Peter, washed [Barbatianus's] body and embalmed it with the greatest care with aromatic spices from the furthest lands, following the ancient custom by which the saints were embalmed, together with the Empress Galla Placida and her son the Emperor Valentinian.[22]

Both accounts share the detail of the treatment of Barbatianus's body which was "preserved with aromatic spices," and the claim that he was buried in the church of St. John the Baptist. As noted by Lanzoni and others, this is a strong basis to suggest that the author of the *vita* knew of Agnellus's work, or at the very least the inscription referenced by Agnellus was still visible in the tenth century and both texts relied on it. Had the *vita* been compiled and available to Agnellus, he would have likely relied on it for additional material on Peter Chrysologus and Galla Placidia, or at the very least cited it as a further authority on the life of the saint. In a number of other instances, especially with regard to the *passio* of Apollinaris, he does exactly this: in the fourth and fifth chapters of the *LPR*, he cites the *passio* as a source for material in the lives of the early bishops Eleucadius and Marcian, and in the life of Exuperantius (473–477), he cites a *passio* of Gervasius and Prostasius, and attributes it to Bishop Ambrose.[23]

The absence of any reference to the existence of a *vita* of Barbatianus in the *LPR*, and rather that *LPR* was almost certainly a source for the *vita* has been used to help construct the *terminus post quem* for the *vita* at around 850, which is accepted in the majority of modern scholarship.[24] The following two arguments deserve mention here as a means through which the dating of the *vita* can be narrowed by a close reading of its content, in particular the portrayal of the imperial family, and in the text's explicit promotion of an ordered and engaged urban monasticism, both of which are tied to the political and religious landscape of Ravenna in the second half of the tenth century.

The decline of the fortunes of Ravenna that Agnellus portrays in the mid-ninth century was a response to the new political realities of late Carolingian Italy, in which the territory was no longer the key prize for the foreign rulers, but rather a zone relatively ignored and separate from the strife between the eastern and western Frankish factions. This clearly left an impact on Ravenna and the understanding of the role of the city

in the Carolingian empire; in the last life preserved in the *LPR*, the archbishop George (c. 837–846) finds himself captured and humiliated by the forces of Charles the Bald on his way to petition King Lothar I. However, after the death in 875 of the emperor Louis II (Charlemagne's great-grandson and Lothar I's son), the territory became integrated into that of the western Frankish kingdom; after the death of Charles the Fat in 888, it lost its direct political connections to the Carolingians and in turn came to be governed by local kings of Frankish origin who took the title of *Imperator*, but lacked the authority of "emperor," and during whose weakened rule, the local nobility increased their independence and affirmed various positions and claims. The political organization of this period, from approximately 875 to 950, was made inherently unstable throughout Northern Italy because of frequent competing claims, and for Ravenna in particular. Although we lack a guide such as Agnellus for this period, the relative obscurity to which Ravenna returns after the death of Charlemagne in 814 is visible in the evidence for royal and imperial visits to the city discussed in greater detail below.

Although the relationship between the Franks, their supporters and the local Ravennati was frequently strained, Agnellus presented a number of occasions when Ravenna's importance was acknowledged by two visits to the city by Charlemagne: in 787 under the episcopacy of Gratiosus, when he was "invited to feast there and he gladly came"[25]; and during a discussion of the bronze equestrian statue made for Theodoric, Agnellus says that:

> "And now almost thirty-eight years ago [801], when Charles king of the Franks had conquered all the kingdoms and had received the empire of the Romans from Pope Leo III, after he swore an oath at the body of blessed Peter, while returning to Francia, he entered Ravenna, and seeing the beautiful image, the equal of which, as he swore, he had never seen, he had it brought to Francia and set up in his palace which is called Aachen."[26]

The despoliation of Ravenna by Charlemagne certainly had its negative effects, but it affirmed the notion that Ravenna was a city worthy of imperial attention and possessed monuments and relics of an earlier imperial age that were valuable far from the city.[27]

Although not through any royal or imperial imperative, the saints of Ravenna also proved to have value to those living north of the Alps. In the 830s, according to the *Vita et translatio S. Severi* by the monk Liutolfus,

a professional relic thief named Felix was "visiting the monastery of Saint Apollinaris in Ravenna when he saw an opportunity to steal the body. Upon so doing, he was pursued by monks from the monastery and in the course of his flight he happened to meet Otgarius. The archbishop agreed to purchase the relics and Felix escaped on a horse provided by the Frankish ecclesiastic."[28] Although this was not mentioned by Agnellus, a fact which led a number of scholars to suggest that Felix may not have had the actual relics, the value of whatever was brought to Mainz, and expressly that they came from Italy and from Ravenna would have given them additional recognition, since the city had been known as an imperial capital and had been despoiled by Charlemagne.

Returning to the political trends, the fame and importance of the city remained somewhat intact for the Carolingians in the second half of the ninth century, and based on the evidence from the royal and imperial *diplomata* issued there, was likely a regular stop on Italian itineraries. For example, Louis II issued three charters relating to monastic property from Ravenna, specifically Sant'Apollinare in Classe, in the spring of 874, and likely in 872 as well.[29] One of his successors, his cousin Charles the Fat (crowned as emperor in 881), issued a number of important charters in mid-February of 882 from Ravenna, commonly known as the "Ravenna Constitutions."[30] The choice of Ravenna was perhaps in reflection of the itineraries of Charlemagne, and "the venue, timing and scale of the Ravenna assembly therefore served to re-affirm Charles's status as a legitimate emperor, and the issuing of the constitutions on that occasion underlined the point."[31]

After the death of Charles the Fat in 888, the position of emperor and king of Italy fell to a number of noble Frankish families with claims through traditional Lombard territories and proximity to the once powerful Carolingian dynasty. With this shift, Ravenna faded from interest and only served as a location of royal activity on a few occasions. For example, under Guy of Spoleto, two charters were issued in 892, and under his son Lambert, two more in 898.[32] Only a single extant charter from the northern imperial claimant Berengar I was issued in Ravenna, affirming the rights of the church of Arezzo in 916.[33] After this point, no further royal or imperial claimants would visit Ravenna in an attempt to follow the pattern established by the Carolingians until the arrival of Otto I, with his claim as *rex Langobardorum* or *Italicorum* in 951.[34]

What should be clear is that the environment would not have provided a suitable ruler interested in anything more than a passing connection to

the once-imperial capital of Ravenna, and by extension, such a ruler would have had little or no interest in a saint who had been confessor to an imperial mother, sister and daughter. Instead, before the 950s, Ravenna served to reaffirm an imitation of Charlemagne which the later kings followed, even Charles the Fat. The arrival of Otto I, and later Otto II, in the second half of the tenth century with a compelling interest in ruling Italy as well as in *renovatio imperii*, would have allowed for an audience of emperors and those supporting their positions, who were interested in a *vita* that positively features the last imperial Roman dynasty in the West (more so then the weak and rival kings of the period from 888 to 951).[35]

The other major factor which would have greatly increased the viability of the text in the second half of the tenth century was Ravenna's monastic revival, which although far less known than Rome's or that of the later period, is important for the other key components of the text. Under conditions where urban monasticism had grown into a powerful local movement with the support of local aristocrats, Barbatianus's pious and ascetic lifestyle, and his support and creation of "reformed monasteries" in Ravenna would have been alluring. The relevance of Barbatianus in this role was long-standing, from the audience of Peter Damian's sermon of 1044–1045, to the author and the illustrator of the fourteenth-century *Tractatus hedificationis et constructionis ecclesie s. Iohannis evangeliste* from the Biblioteca Classense, who depicted Barbatianus as a tonsured saint wearing a chasuble in the first illuminated initial.[36] His position would have been equally relevant in the latter decades of the tenth century, when the Cluniac reforms would have made a larger impact on the practice and organization of monasticism in Ravenna with the arrival of Cluny's abbot Maiolus in the 970s.[37] In addition, as noted by Morini, the urban monasticism led by aristocratic families nominally free from strong episcopal control which was long practiced in Ravenna (at least in the lens of Agnellus) transforms into a monasticism practiced under the supervision of the archbishop visible in the charters.[38] Other kinds of reform also appear in the second half of the tenth century: in 973, as part of a large donation to the monastery of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo by the count and duke of Ravenna Peter that also established Andreas as future abbot over the monks; it was ordered that the monastery would explicitly be under the *regula sancti Benedicti*.[39]

Evidence from the charters does more with respect to Barbatianus than indicate a growing corps of clerics, monks and organized monasticism; the existence of a monastery connected with the saint appears in a small number of sources beginning in the latter half of the tenth century. A

manuscript recording a list of the churches once in Ravenna written in 1849 based on a variety of sources by Antonio Terlazzi, the prefect of the archiepiscopal archive of Ravenna, includes the following on an institution dedicated to Barbatianus: "S. Barbatianus: Monastery in the city in the area of S. Vitale. Known from 952 to 1288 from sources. Illustrious because S. Barbatianus, the confessor of Galla Placidia, lived and died here."[40] The church is without doubt that of St. John the Baptist and Barbatianus, and a number of charters discussed point to the existence of that monastery and its engagement in land exchanges.

The contexts of the monastic and imperial revival in the second half of the tenth century, along with the growth of the monastery of Barbatianus, would have provided significant impetus for the revival of the saint's cult and the creation of the *vita*. Furthermore, the existence of a renewed and revived monastic movement in Ravenna in the second half of the tenth century would have provided a second and perhaps more lasting audience for a *vita* of an urban monk connected to the imperial family: healing through the grace of God, of great humility; but more importantly, one who establishes and reforms monasteries and practices forms of eremitic monasticism. Given the distinctive character of the *vita* (especially in the context of the hagiographic landscape of Ravenna, described in the following chapter), and its firm *terminus ante quem*, a date of the *vita* in the second half of the tenth century can be strongly inferred.

Notes

1. *BHL* 973. Although this title is what has been commonly used, modern scholarship has described it as a *vita* (a concession which I also make) as do some other medieval sources.
2. These include both the *Tractatus* and the sermon of Raindalus de Concurezzo. On the composition of this codex and analysis of its composition, see Deliyannis's introduction to Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 53–4.
3. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Ital V.32 (5647), ff. 41ra–44vb. Jacques Dalarun and Lino Leonardi, eds., *Biblioteca Agiografica Italiana II* (Florence: Galluzzo, 2003), 83–84.
4. Agnellus of Ravenna, *Ravennatis Liber Pontificalis*; *sive Vitae pontificum Ravennatum* (Modena: Typis Antonii Capponii impressoris Episcopalis, 1708), 38–58.
5. On the complications of studying and publishing this work for Bacchini, see the introduction to the chapter "The Origins of Ecclesiastical

Historiography" in Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 132–6.

6. Ludovico Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, *2.1* (Milan: Ex typographia societatis palatinae in regia curia, 1723), 194–98. *PL* 106, 769–78.
7. Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus Sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diversis voluminibus collectus* (1493), II, 23.
8. Not all editions featured woodcuts; in one printed in Lyon in 1514, Barbatianus is depicted as a tonsured monk, holding out a book behind a field of stars.
9. This version was recorded as *BHL* 972b. Albertus Poncelet, "Le légendier de Pierre Calo," *Analecta Bollandiana* 29 (1910): 52.
10. Francesco Lanzoni, "Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani Presbyteri et Confessoris,'" *Rivista di Scienze Storiche* 6 (1909). The manuscripts which Lanzoni used in addition to the *Codex Estensis* are: Brussels, KBR Ms. 64; Rome, Canant. Ms. 718; and Ravenna, Bib. Arciveco. Ms. VII, which he describes as a lectionary of the eleventh or twelfth century.
11. Lanzoni claims that "the first 12 miracles were plundered largely intact," when in fact, the author of the vita goes to some length to integrate the material, a point visible in the edition Lanzoni himself provides with the Latin of the vita paired with the Latin of the original sources. Ibid., 713.
12. Albertus Poncelet, "Review of Francesco Lanzoni, *Il* '*Liber Pontificalis*' *Ravennate*, *Gli* '*Acta sancti Barbatiani presbyteri et confessoris*,' and *Un antico vescovo d'Imola*," *Analecta Bollandiana* 29 (1910).
13. Hippolytus Delehaye, "L'hagiography ancienne de Ravenne," ibid. 47 (1929).
14. For example, in Deborah Deliyannis's excellent *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, he is mentioned twice; first in the patronage of Galla Placidia, and again for the confusion over the construction of the church dedicated to John the Baptist and Barbatianus. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 63, 104.
15. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 80–85.
16. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta*: *A Biographical Essay*, 266 n. 61. On the topic of Galla Placidia in particular, the elements from the vita of Barbatianus tend to be excluded in favor of the other written evidence, including the Agnellus's *Liber pontificalis* and the Sermons of Peter Chrysologus.
17. Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra*: *Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 9.

18. The hagiographic landscape is defined here as a portion of territory made up of shrines, relics, texts and feasts, and how they are perceived. The landscape is further shaped by availability, culture and experience.
19. Lanzoni, "Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani Presbyteri et Confessoris,'" 714. Others effectively follow the same exact line, citing Lanzoni, including Morini who asserts that it "scritto tra la metà del IX e l'inizio dell'XI secolo," and the more recent survey of Tomea, where he highlights the uncertainty of the dating, but in his list of saints, places the dating from the middle of the ninth century to 1044–1045. Morini, "Le strutture monastiche a Ravenna," 308; Tomea, "L'agiografia dell'Italia Settentrionale (950–1130)," 135, 58.
 A prevalent view that argues the vita of Barbatianus must date from the first half of the ninth century is based on the assumption that rather than the vita appropriating material from Agnellus, it was the case that Agnellus used the *vita*. This theory was first espoused by Holder-Egger, the editor of the *LPR* for the *MGH*, who noted that the *vita* must have been read. O. Holder-Egger, "'Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis,'" in *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX* (Hannover: MGH, 1878), 313, n. 5. Benericetti goes far further, suggesting explicitly that Agnellus was dependent on the vita of Barbatianus based on a number of factors: the use of *sicut scriptum reperimus* (as we have seen written) in Angellus's description of the saint's burial; the fact that vita does not know Peter Chyrsologus as Chrysologus; and the style. Benericetti, *Il pontificale di Ravenna*: *studio critico*, 177–79. Although these claims are valid, the existence of so many external factors which likely inspired the writing, as well as the issues connected with obtaining the *miracula* of Cyrus and John in Latin, strongly suggest an alternate later dating.
20. *LPR* 51. "Temporibus Gallae Placidiae augustae, sicut scriptum reperimus, corpus beati Barbatiani idem Petrus Crisologus cum predicta augusta aromatibus condiderunt et cum magno honore sepelierunt non longe ad posterulam Ouilionis. Consecrauitque ecclesiam sancti Iohanis et Barbatiani, quam Baduarius aedificavit." Translation modified from Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*. To explain the incompatible chronology presented here which posits the construction of the church in the fifth century to the sixth-century Baduarius, Deichmann has proposed that Agnellus recorded an inscription which mentioned both Badaurius and a bishop Peter, although likely Peter III (570–578). Friedrich W. Deichmann, "Studi sulla Ravenna scomparsa," *Felix Ravenna* 103–4 (1972): 68–9.
21. Verhoeven suggests that there are two plausible readings of Agnellus's text based on whether *sicut scriptum reperimus* is connected to the preceding clause (in the time of Galla Placidia) or the following one on the translation

of the relics. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformation and Memory*, 81.

22. "Qui sanctissimus pater Petrus episcopus lavit corpus eius et condivit cum aromatibus inaestimabilibus cum omni diligentia, sicut mos antiquitus sancti condiebantur, una cum Galla Placidia augusta et filio eius Valentiniano augusto." Lanzoni, "Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani Presbyteri et Confessoris,'" 656.
23. *LPR* 32. "Ambrosius Mediolanensis sanctus antites, in Passione beatorum martirum Geruasi et Protassi." On the written sources used by Agnellus and particularly the *passio* of Apollinaris, see Deliyannis's introduction to the Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 39–43. The inclusion of references to these two texts in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna in the absence of any meaningful reference to the vita was also noted by Morini, "Le strutture monastiche a Ravenna," 318. An additional point could be made that because Barbatianus is not a bishop (or a martyr) but merely a confessor, he would not warrant discussion by Agnellus.
24. Lanzoni, "Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani Presbyteri et Confessoris,'" 716–7.
25. *LPR* 165. "Et uenit in illis diebus Karolus rex Francorum Raueuuam; et inuitatus ut ibidem epularet, gratanter uenit." Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, 290.
26. *LPR* 94. "Et nunc paene .xxxviii., cum Karolus rex Francorum omnia subiugasset regna et Romanorum percepisset a Leone tertio papa imperium, postquam ad corpus beati Petri sacramentum praebuit, reuertans Franciam, Rauveeam ingressus, uidens pulcherrimam imaginem, quam numquam similem, ut ipse testatus est, uidit, Franciam deportare facit atque in suo eam firmare palatio qui Aquisgranis uocatur." Ibid., 207.
27. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 298.
28. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 58.
29. *MGH* DD L II, 62 and 83.
30. *MGH* DD K III, 47, 49–53. Charles III also issued a charter from Ravenna in 880 reconfirming an agreement with the Venetians (*MGH* DD K III, 17; see also *MGH* Capit II, 236).
31. On the importance of these charters to the reign of Charles III and the legislative nature of these charters, see Simon MacLean, "Legislation and politics in late Carolingian Italy: the Ravenna constitutions," *Early Medieval Europe* 18 (2010): 411.
32. For both Guy and Lambert, only a single charter survives (XIII and VIII, respectively), while Schiaparelli has included the evidence for an additional lost charter issued in Ravenna for each reign (9 and 6). Luigi Schiaperelli, ed. *I diplomi di Guido e di Lamberto* (*sec. IX*), Fonti per la storia d'Italia 36 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1906).

33. *I diplomi di Berengario I* (*sec. IX–X*), Fonti per la storia d'Italia 35 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1903), 283–85, no. 111.
34. Giuseppe Sergi, "The Kingdom of Italy," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, *vol. III c. 900–c. 1204*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 356.
35. The ideals of the Ottonian *renovatio imperii*, indicated in the seals of Otto III, were first comprehensibly claimed in Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser*, *Rom und Renovatio*: *Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des romischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches biz zum Investiturstreit* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929). However, the effects of policies of *renovatio* were less clear (if at all visible) in Ravenna. On Schramm's approach and its limitations and detractions, see also Warner, "Ideals and action in the reign of Otto III." On the idea of *renovatio* in relation to Italy and Ravenna in particular, see Augusto Torre, "Ravenna e l'imperio," in "*Renovatio Imperii*" *Atti della giornata internazionale di studio per il millenario* (Faenza: Fratelli Lega, 1963); Eugenio Duprè Theseider, "Ottone I e l'Italia," ibid.; Augusto Vasina, "Ravenna e la renovatio imperii ottoniana," in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005).
36. On Damian's sermon in detail, see Edward Schoolman, "Engineered Holy Authority and the Tenth-Century *vita* of St. Barbatianus of Ravenna," (Forthcoming).
37. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, 248–52.
38. Morini, "Le strutture monastiche a Ravenna," 312.
39. Fantuzzi, *Monumenti ravennati de' secoli di mezzo per la maggior parte inediti, vol. I*, 178–86. Republished in Vincenzo Federici, *Regesto di S. Apollinare nuovo* (Roma: Istituto Storica Italiano, 1907), 5–13.
40. Mario Mazzotti, "Elenco delle chiese ravennati attraverso i secoli," *Felix Ravenna* 105–106 (1973): 254.

CHAPTER 5

Content and Composition of the *Vita Barbatiani*

5.1 Content of the *Vita Barbatiani*

In the medieval manuscripts of the *Vita Barbatiani*, the text is frequently divided into 15 chapters of varying length; yet as a biography, it can be readily subdivided into distinct parts based on the location of the narrative. The *vita* begins with an introduction explaining papal conflict and imperial intervention in fifth-century Rome; then the arrival of Barbatianus in the city and how he came into the sphere of Galla Placidia; seven miracles set in Rome, followed by four more in Ravenna; and a short section detailing the death of the saint. The author of the vita had very little material which he could work with in terms of either a central cult or established texts. For instance, the *LPR* includes the burial of Barbatianus, describing only that the empress and Peter Chrysologus, the bishop of Ravenna, take part in his entombment (which was included later in the *vita*). There was no mention of any of his miracles, monastic activities or his close relationship to Galla Placidia (Table 5.1).

Even more problematic was the status of Barbatianus's sanctity within Ravenna's hagiographic milieu, as he had not been a martyr or bishop, the typical positions of most saints connected to the city before the eleventh century. In practice, however, his status was reflected in Ravenna through a church and monastery jointly dedicated to him and John the Baptist, which by 932 possessed an abbot and the means to lend property. Furthermore, as his legend and relics were not enhanced by authority from

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2_5

Table 5.1 Contents of the *Vita* of Barbatianus following the manuscript chapters of the Lanzoni edition

	Chapter content	*Source Material*
1	Introduction	*Miraculum* 1; *Liber Pontificalis* 22
2	Arrival in Rome of Barbatianus	*Vita* of Sylvester
3	Barbatianus meets Galla Placidia	
4	Barbatianus cures the eyes of Galla Placidia's *manipula*	*Miraculum* I and *Miraculum* II: Theodorus
5	Barbatianus heals the foot of Gallogenis	*Miraculum* III: Calus
6	Barbatianus heals the lungs of Isidore	*Miraculum* IV: Isidorus
7	Barbatianus heals the fevers of Minas	*Miraculum* V: Mennas
8	Barbatianus heals the fistula of Geddeus	*Miraculum* VI: Gegdaeo
9	Barbatianus heals the clubfooted Minax	*Miraculum* VII: Mennas
10	Barbatianus heals the eyes of Theodorus	*Miraculum* II: Theodorus
11	Galla Placidia returns to Ravenna with Barbatianus; Barbatianus heals the son of Julianus	*Miraculum* I: Ammonio
12	Barbatianus assists Galla Placidia in obtaining a relic of John the Evangelist	
13	Barbatianus heals Theodora of a flux	*Miraculum* IX: Theodora
14	Barbatianus turns Theodora's jealous husband to stone	
15	Death of Barbatianus	*LPR*

an episcopal position, the traditional models for the saints of Ravenna could not be employed. In their place, Barbatianus was imbued with sacred authority derived from his asceticism, healing ability and eremitic and later monastic lifestyle, forming his life into that of a typical holy man of the fifth century.[1]

Rather than fashioning anew the miracles for the saint, the author of the *Vita Barbatiani* committed an act of literary *furta sacra* and adapted material from sources which were most likely unknown to those who would make up the audience for his life. Parts of the nine miracles from Sophronius's *miracula* of Cyrus and John, an abbot and soldier, respectively, were taken to supplement two miracles composed specifically for the *Vita Barbatiani*, while some introductory material was adapted from the anonymous papal *LP*.[2] The author also expanded on the description of the death and burial of the saint from the *LPR* of Agnellus; it is also likely that he made use of a *vita* of Pope Sylvester to model Barbatianus as a recluse in his early history in Rome. While the exact ways in which the

author appropriated and modified the various sources to adapt them to fit the vita of Barbatianus are an important part of the literary and cultural history of the text and discussed in the next section, it is worthwhile to examine the text as it was intended, noting the narrative patterns and foci of the composite work.

The *vita* of Barbatianus places the saint chronologically in the first half of the fifth century and works to establish what would seem to its tenth-century audience an authentic late antique setting. To this end, the narrative begins not with any information about the saint but with the situation in Rome. Rival popes, Boniface and Eulalius, were ordered out of the city by the emperor Honorius in response to the division of the clergy after the death of the previous pope, Zosimus; ultimately, Eulalius is exiled to Campania, while the *vita* suggests that the emperors invested Boniface as pope.

The majority of the chapter was taken directly from the anonymous sixth-century *Liber pontificalis* of Rome; however, in the reworking of the material for the *vita*, it places the preeminent authority not with the legitimate pope (in this case Boniface), but in the imperial authority which affirmed his power. By using a late antique source well known by the tenth century, the description lends an air of legitimacy from the very beginning of the biography, while simultaneously reminding the listener or reader of the status of the emperors by name: Galla Placidia, her son Valentinian III, and her half-brother Honorius, and their power to adjudicate disputes within the church.

The *vita* continues by describing the separate arrivals of the imperial family and Barbatianus to Rome. It introduces the saint as coming from Antioch (like Ravenna's "first" Bishop Apollinaris), along with a fellow holy man, Timothy. The reference to a Christian from Antioch coming to Rome suggests first an echo of the Apostle Paul, but more closely mirrors an episode from the vita of Pope Sylvester.[3] In the introduction to the biography of the pope (preserved in many variants of the text in both Greek and Latin), Sylvester is recorded as having been apprenticed to another saintly man named Timothy, who came from Antioch to Rome for a year and three months in order to convert pagans.[4] This Timothy was subsequently discovered by the praefect Tarquinius, tortured, and put to death. Although the variants of the *vita* offer differing details (such as a short dialog in some of the Greek texts), the basic premise is echoed in the language of the *vita* of Barbatianus, who not only shares a close relationship with emperors and is a confessor like Sylvester but also hides

after the death of his own mentor Timothy, something described in the *vitae* of both men.

Once in Rome, Barbatianus and Timothy performed healing miracles through their prayers until Timothy's death, after which he was buried near the presumed tomb of the Apostle Peter. However, the *vita*'*s* confusion is a repetition of its source, the life of Pope Cornelius in the *LP*, in which the original burial location of Peter is described between the Vatican hill and the so-called Aureus located to the south on the Janiculum.[5]

After Timothy's death, Barbatianus went into hiding in the cemetery of Callixtus on the Via Appia, where he is depicted as living essentially as a hermit.[6] On hearing about his powers to perform miraculous cures, he was summoned by Galla Placidia. Unwilling to leave his place of refuge, the empress came to him, her desire to locate the saint reflecting his elevated status. At their first meeting, he recognized her and the imperial family without an introduction, a further sign of his spiritual gifts; after a brief interview, in which he reiterated his credentials as being from Antioch and working with Timothy, he was asked by the empress to perform the first miracle recorded in the *vita*: healing the eyes of her *manipula* (handmaiden).[7]

The next seven miracles (appearing as Chaps. 4–10 in Lanzoni's edition) are mostly taken intact from the *miracula* of Cyrus and John. Reflecting the adoption from a Latin translation, the *vita* preserves the same basic order of the miracles, with six chapters providing the third through the eighth miracles presented by Sophronius. This includes healing the eyes of Galla Placidia's *manipula*, the foot of Gallogenis injured from a fall while undertaking a task for the emperor Valentinian, the lungs of Isidore, the fever of Minas, the fistula of Geddeus, the bowleggedness of Minax and the blindness of Theodore. In most of these instances, the healing was procured through prayer; however, the power of Barbatianus remained disguised, as he also offered placebos in the form of traditional medical cures, such as bandages, bread soaked in oil and pieces of citron.[8]

Particularly of note here is the inclusion of the imperial family into the *Vita Barbatiani*; Galla Placidia was responsible for seeking out Barbatianus in order to find a cure for her *manipula*, and it was Valentinian's command to climb down a ladder quickly which led to the violent injury to Gallogenis's feet and legs. Much like the preface to the *vita*, the imperial family is made integral to the narrative of the story, reaffirming their connection with Barbatianus, which is further amplified in the second half of the narrative.

At the end of the 10th chapter, after Barbatianus returned a blind Theodorus to sight, the narrative shifts dramatically. The 11th chapter

opens with Galla Placidia and Valentinian returning to Ravenna from their stay in Rome and bringing Barbatianus with them. Rather than living as reclusive healer as he did in Rome, Barbatianus is transformed into a public figure, first within the medical facilities of the palace in Ravenna and then later in a cell attached to the church of John the Baptist built for the purpose of housing him (the *LPR* offers a different account of the church's construction and patronage, although one which suffers from problems of chronology). In a further step away from his eremitic existence in the cemetery of Callixtus, Barbatianus established a monastic rule (*regula monachorum*) in his compound at the church of John the Baptist. The 11th chapter concludes by presenting another miracle taken from the *miracula* of Cyrus and John, one in which Barbatianus heals the goiter of the son of Julianus through prayer, disguised by the application of a bandage smeared with wax, bread and oil, the most distinctive miracle of the narrative.

According to the *LPR* and the descriptions of the medieval iconography, the church of San Giovanni Evangelista was built by Galla Placidia to fulfill a pledge she made during a rough sea voyage from Constantinople to Ravenna.[9] Although the church was constructed, the *vita* describes that she had been unable to find a relic of the saint. Having been summoned by Galla Placidia, Barbatianus encouraged the empress to begin deliberation accompanied by vigil and prayer throughout the night, so that the location "of the holy relics of the most holy disciple of Christ" might be revealed through a vision. In the middle of the night, with sleep taking hold of Barbatianus, he saw a man coming toward him swinging a censer; recognizing the figure as John the Evangelist, he roused Galla Placidia. Once she awoke and saw the man, she ran toward him and threw herself at his feet as he began to float upwards; as he vanished, she was left holding the sandal from his right foot as the relic for the church dedicated in his name. In this way, Barbatianus proves himself not only as a miraculous healer and an established monk but also as the obtainer of sacred relics from outside of the physical realm, a rare position indeed. This discovery allowed for the consecration of the church, and as the narrative noted, Barbatianus became "even more venerated" by the people of Ravenna.

What follows is the final miracle taken in part from the *miracula* of Cyrus and John, in which Barbatianus cured the bloody flux of Theodora, notably at the door of his *monasterium* (a term with a complex meaning in Ravenna and elsewhere), with either followers or disciples (*deservientes*), suggesting a nascent monastic community.[10]

This healing miracle segues into the last miracle of the *vita*, in Chap. 14. The recently healed Theodora became a follower of Barbatianus, visiting him with offerings, asking for the performance of masses, and begging for benedictions; this allows for the introduction of her husband, a jealous man named Ursicius, a name common to Ravenna. Upset at the new devotion expressed by his wife, Ursicius planned to murder Barbatianus during his normal rounds to distribute alms. He disguised himself and "stood nearby next to the wall of a house, hiding behind a stone column, so that he could stab the holy man with an unsheathed blade when he passed."[11] However, with his knife at the ready as he lunged toward the saint, Ursicius's arm withered, and he was frozen in place while Barbatianus walked passed unaware of the threat to his life. Only when Barbatianus returned hours later did he see the man still unmoving, and the saint unfroze Ursicius through prayer. After this public display, the status of Barbatianus among the community continued to increase, to the point that the empress began visiting him daily.

The narrative draws to a close when Barbatianus falls ill while Galla Placidia is away in Rimini building a church dedicated to Saint Stephen. When word reached the bishop Peter, who is given the title of "bookmaker" (*librificus*) in the *vita* (but chronologically must refer to Peter Chrysologus), he told the empress, who immediately went to visit the saint with her son Valentinian.[12] After offering a benediction to the imperial family, Barbatianus died; his body was treated and embalmed with spices just as done to his mentor in Rome, Timothy. The saint was then interred in a recently carved tomb (presumably a sarcophagus, although the text is unclear) installed in the church which was said to have held his cell on January 2.[13] The church was subsequently rededicated to both Barbatianus and John the Baptist.[14]

At every stage, from his introduction to his establishment in Ravenna and to the end of his life, there are constant references to the relationship of Barbatianus to the empress Galla Placidia. This narrative makes the sanctity of Barbatianus contingent on his connection to the empress through her request for the healing of her *manipula*, her establishment of his monastic center and the local almshouses in Ravenna, and her need to obtain a relic of John the Evangelist. However, the effect of continually raising the engagement of the imperial family in Barbatianus's *vita* overshadows another important facet of his life: the visible development of his monasticism. Although he is never called a monk, he first lives with Timothy, his partner in healing through prayer, then alone as a hermit

in the cemetery of Callixtus, and finally, in a *monasterium* he organized under a rule and with a group of followers.

Although the work is a composite, with elements from the papal *Liber pontificalis*, a translation of the Greek *miracula* of Cyrus and John, allusions to material from the *LPR* of Agnellus and other *vitae*, along with two original vignettes, it maintains a sense of unity and relative chronology within the narrative framework, further lending legitimacy as a text purporting to be from the fifth century. Yet it does not offer what might be expected from the typical *vita* of a confessor, as there is no discernable background or prior history of the saint. Nor does it offer clear evidence of charismatic actions, as it instead reports the great lengths the saint goes to hide and disguise his miraculous healing through the application of medicinal placebos. Even in his *vita*, his relics are not mentioned in any specific miracles, although his tomb is noted as a place where the "sick obtained their health" through his intercession.[15] Taken as a whole, the life still would have offered a satisfying message to an audience knowledgeable about Ravenna, especially one already familiar with the church of San Giovanni Evangelista and its imperial iconography, and those aware of Galla Placidia's patronage in Rome and Ravenna, both real and imagined. As a saint, Barbatianus would have made a compelling addition to the community of holy figures in the city; as an easterner, like the first bishop of Ravenna; and a healer, through his prayers and supplication. That he became the close confidant of the empress and guided her in philanthropy and patronage would have made him unique within the city, with his imperial connection remaining a strong attraction in the late tenth century when the *vita* was composed.

5.2 The Composition of the *Vita Barbatiani*

When taking up his pen to write the text, the author of the *vita* of Barbatianus encountered a number of difficulties. First, there was little in the way of raw material on the life of Barbatianus; while the *LPR* of Agnellus noted his burial, it was without mention of miracles or his close relationship to Galla Placidia.[16] Even more problematic than the absence of a detailed biography was the status of Barbatianus's sanctity: since Barbatianus had not been a martyr, and his legend and relics were not enhanced by authority from an episcopal position, the traditional models for the saints of Ravenna could not be employed. To rectify this dilemma, by relying on the existence of a monastery dedicated to the saint in the

tenth century, the author portrayed Barbatianus as a hermit, later monastic leader and miraculous healer.

The only preexisting material known to the author that directly commented on the life of Barbatianus came from the *LPR* in the description of the reaction to his death and the treatment of his body and burial. In order to build on this material, the author focused on three possible ways to compose a full life on the models with which he was familiar. First, he could take miracles associated with other saints and integrate them into a narrative about Barbatianus, which he does through the use of a Latin translation of Sophronius's *miracula* of Cyrus and John, a strange choice for a number of reasons discussed below. Second, he could incorporate miracles known from oral sources or created independently, as in the case of the miracle of the frozen Ursicius. Third, he could create a miracle through an interpretation of surviving iconography, as in the case of the miracle of the sandal of John the Evangelist. Comparing the various versions of the *miracula* and how they appear in the *vita* of Barbatianus, and examining the distinctive miracles, offers a chance to explore the author's craft of integration and imagination, providing further clues to the specific context of its creation.

As noted in the description of the narrative, 9 of the 11 miracles performed by Barbatianus in the *vita* were taken in their entirety or in some part from a series of 70 other miracles, originally written in Greek in the seventh century, in commemoration of the healing performed at the site of the shrine of Cyrus and John. Lanzoni's discovery of this, and his careful breakdown of the text of the *vita* of Barbatianus, assigning which sections were derived from the various parts of the miracles, confirmed that the text was not authentic to the fifth century as had been assumed by earlier commentators. This had the additional effect in "proving" that there was little in the way of historical value to the *vita*. Nevertheless, the selection from the *miracula* (out of a range of known hagiographic texts), the choice of specific material and the crafting of the language, all offer keen insight into the objectives of the author.

The *miracula* of Cyrus and John was originally collected and composed in Greek in the seventh century by Sophronius, the patriarch of Jerusalem.[17] Since the early fifth century, the relics of Cyrus and John had been popular in Egypt; the *vitae* of these saints may have been known as early as the sixth century in Italy, and certainly by the eighth century, when both saints appeared in the frescos of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome.[18] Yet this specific collection of miracles associated with Cyrus and John was vir-

tually unknown in the Latin West, despite the fact that two translations had been made: one of the first twelve miracles by Bonifatius Consiliarius in the end of the seventh or early eighth century, and a second by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, which included all 70 of the miracles, and likely relied in part on the translation of Bonifatius for the first 12 of them.[19]

While it is clear that this earlier translation was known to Anastasius, it is uncertain that he made use of it in his own translation. In a cryptic letter in 875, Anastasius stated that "Clearly, Bonifatius Consiliarius at one point had translated twelve chapters of those miracles with the preface at the request of Theodore, the leader of the *defensores* of the church of Rome."[20] Although almost nothing is known for certain about this first translation by Bonifatius (and it has been assumed that his translations have not survived independently), Walter Berschin has noted his importance as the only named translator from Greek into Latin of the seventh century.[21]

The miracles of Cyrus, an Alexandrian physician and abbot, and John, a soldier, were written between 610 and 620, while its author Sophronius, who would be patriarch of Jerusalem during conquest of the city by the Caliph 'Umar in 638, was still a monk. The text itself was presumably composed to "strengthen his claims for the orthodoxy of those who opposed the imperially-sponsored doctrines of monoenergism and its later development, monothelitism."[22] Although the cult of Cyrus and John expanded into both the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, only two manuscripts preserve the Greek miracles (*Vat. Grec* 1607 containing all 70 miracles and *Berolinensis graecus* 220 with only 15 miracles), and only one (*Vat. Lat. 5410*) preserves the Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius. The relationship between these three texts and their lines of transmission have been roughly clarified; both Greek versions "suffered in the transmission process" and date from the tenth to thirteenth century, while the Latin translation was based on a different Greek tradition.[23]

While the scholars who have worked on the these surviving texts, including John Duffy and Bronwen Neil, and to a lesser extent Walter Bershin, have made great advances in revealing the composition, transmission and Latin translation of Sophronius's *miracula* of Cyrus and John, the survival of the tales within the framework of the *vita* of Barbatianus has remained unnoticed except by Lanzoni. Based on the historical contexts of Anastasius's translation (and the differences between the miracles preserved in that translation and the *vita* of Barbatianus), the miracles of the *Vita Barbatiani* could represent an adaptation from the seventh-

century translation of Bonifatius, rather than the ninth-century version of Anastasius Bibliothecarius.[24] In addition, since Bonifatius was working within the papal administration, his translation may have had a circulation broad enough to reach Ravenna in the eighth or ninth century, even before the Latin translation of the miracles were made by Anastasius.

There are four further facts which validate this conclusion. First, the *vita* of Barbatianus includes only the miracles translated in Boniface's translation, and maintains the same order. Second, because the translation of the relics of Cyrus and John to Italy took place in the fifth century, there was some knowledge of their cult in Italy even before Sophronius wrote his collection of their *miracula*. Third, the political circumstances of Anastasius's composition would have made it overtly charged, which likely limited the promulgation of his translation of the *miracula* in Italy, and accounts for only one surviving translation. Fourth, the *ad sensum* rendering of the Greek in the Latin of the *vita* of Barbatianus often times shows significant variations from both the Greek of the Berlin manuscript and the translation of Anastasius.

These factors support the conclusion that the translation of Anastasius would not have been an available or appropriate source for the miracles in the story of Barbatianus; while the translation includes all 70 of the miracles from Sophronius's text (giving the collator of the *vita* of Barbatianus far more examples from which to choose), it did not connect at all to the legend of their relic translation, which was said to have occurred in the early fifth century (almost contemporary with Barbatianus). Even when the Greek miracles were composed in the 610s, and in the ninth century when Anastasius was translating the text into Latin, the relics of Cyrus and John had already become part of the spiritual geography of Italy having been translated to the church of Santa Passera on *via Portuensis* and were possibly known in wider circulation, despite the likelihood that no Latin versions of their lives or miracles circulated until the tenth century.[25]

The political circumstances of Anastasius's Latin translation, in which the papacy sought to discredit the Patriarch of Constantinople and "to counter claims against Rome for power in the ecclesiastical arena," might also have made that translation unsuitable for adaptation.[26] Ravenna's episcopal claims had historically been against Rome, rather than Constantinople, and the underlying sense that Anastasius's attitude in translation was in "claiming hereditary rights over the patrimony of the Greeks," is further identified by the material selected for his translations.[27]

The apparent limited diffusion of the *miracula* also suggests that there would have been little opportunity to consult Anastasius's translation in particular. The only surviving manuscripts date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and contain the translations of Anastasius and other accounts connected to the lives and relics of Cyrus and John in Latin.[28] Unlike the *vita* of Barbatianus, which makes its way into a range of regional hagiographic collections in Romagna and Tuscany, Anastasius's work on these saints does not travel. Neither translation received attention within the cult of Cyrus and John, and the lack of surviving medieval manuscripts attest to their limited popularity in comparison to the *passio*, which is known from medieval sources.[29] Nevertheless, during the tenth century, the author was able to obtain a copy of a translation, likely that of Boniface, and put it to use by inserting the miracles of Cyrus and John into the *vita* of Barbatianus.

Although the miracles were relatively devoid of geographic and cultural markers suggesting their Egyptian or Greek origin (other than the names of those who sought healing), they were not copied verbatim, but crafted in language and content to suit the formation of a *vita* for Barbatianus in light of the political needs of the tenth century, the geography of Ravenna, the rise of urban monasticism in the city and the context of a fifth-century saint in the sphere of the late Roman imperial household.

In terms of crafting the language of the *miracula* to fit Barbatianus's *vita*, three short examples illustrate the various means by which the compiler of the *vita* formed this new text: rewriting the language, substituting locations and identities and adopting and transforming characters from the *miracula*. In rewriting the language, the compiler of the *vita* generally maintained a close affinity to the texts from which it was derived, yet used language and syntax that might be considered less "translationese" than the stilted and rigid *ad verbum* rendering sometimes found in Anastasius's translation.[30] The first example comes from the 8th chapter of the *vita* of Barbatianus, where a man named Geddeus has become stricken with a fistula, and begins to seek the assistance of the saint[31] (Table 5.2).

What can be noticed from this example is the very close way that the Latin of Anastasius followed Sophronius's Greek original, a clear effort to maintain a translation *ad verbum* even when the Greek was not entirely clear.[32] Perhaps the most visible example of this issue pertains to a possible manuscript error in Sophronius that offers the *hapax legomenon* of ναυλομάχος for the occupation of Geddeus. In the *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Lampe suggests that it was an error for, or a corruption of, ναυλοδόκ(χ)

Table 5.2 Textual variants to the introduction of the healing of Geddeus

Sophronius, Narratio miraculorum sanctorum Cyri et Joannis 6	*Latin Translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*	*Vita Sancti Barbatiani 8*
Ἐκ τοῦδε ἡμᾶς τοῦ θεάματος, ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεωρίαν ὁ ναυλομάχος ἐφέλκεται, ᾧ Γεδδαῖος μὲν ἦν ὄνομα, πάθος δὲ τὸ τῆς σύριγγος νόσημα, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ βουβῶνος ἐσχηκώς, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἐδαμάζετο, ἀεὶ δι' αὐτοῦ μαστιζόμενος, καὶ κρουνηδὸν ἀπορρέων τὴν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἐν αὐτῷ συναγομένην ὑγρότητα· ἀλλὰ ταύτης ὁ Γεδδαῖος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς μαστίγος γλιχόμενος παντοίως τὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν κατέτριβεν πρόθυρα· πρὸς ἐκείνους θειάζων καὶ συχνὰ προερχόμενος, οἳ τῶν πλειόνων διαφέρειν ἐλέγοντο.	Ex hoc specaculo, ad sui considerationem nos naumachus adtrahit, cui Gegdaeus quidem fuerat nomen, passio vero, fistulae languor, quem habens in inguine sicut diei dono est afflictus est, ex eo jugiter flagella perpetiens humoris effluentibus guttis ibidem ex toto copore recollecti. Sed Gegdaeus de hoc supplicio eximi penitus cupiens, medicorum atterbat vestibula, frequentans et jugiter procedens ad eos, qui multis praeferendi dicebantur fistula confestim exiliit praecepto sanctorum recognito, et fistulae cavitas statim repleta est martyrum mandatis obediens.	Eodem tempore fuit quidam vir nomine Geddeo, qui habebat in inguine fistulam. Ad hoc expectaculum ad sui considerationem nos adtraxit. Passio vero languoris fistule, quam habens in inguine ex eo gignitur, quod flagella perpessus, et humoris et fluentibus guttis, et ibidem ex toto corpore collectis, et hoc supplicio impeditus salutem cupiens medicorum adhaerebat vestibulo frequenter, et jugiter procedens ad eos deducebatur.

ος, "a receiver of freights," although this term is also exceedingly rare in Greek.[33] Despite the uncertainty as to its actual meaning, it is clear that the noun relates to the process of ναῦλος, the payment for shipping freight, which Anastasius transforms into what he perceives to be the most logical choice, *naumachus*, a marine or sailor. Moving from this comparison to the other between the text of Anastasius and that of the *vita* of Barbatianus, it is clear that the text of the *vita* has been reformatted to a significant degree to fit the idiom of a non-translated text of its period; some details, such as Geddeus's occupation, are stripped from the narrative. While the order of events is similar in the *vita* of Barbatianus and the translation of Anastasius, a few differences suggest the plasticity adopted by the tenth-century author, even if the text he employed belonged to Boniface. In the first line, the adoption of Anastasius's *ex hoc specaculo* closely follow the construction of ἐκ τοῦδε ... τοῦ θεάματος from Sophronius, but is

rendered in the *Vita Barbatiani* with *ad hoc expectaculum*.[34] The rest of this example suggests a direct and almost phrase-by-phrase translation by Anastasius, which in the *vita* is amended and abridged to fit the style of the other sections. Here, the flexibility in language seems geared toward making the miracle different in style but not in content, in an attempt to create ownership, where specific details about Barbatianus do not appear.

Many sections taken from the *miracula* contain a direct reference to Cyrus and John or their relics as actors in the narrative; once transferred to the *vita* of Barbatianus, the typical solution is a simple replacement of one saint with another, made more complicated by the fact that Barbatianus was alive. In the 7th chapter of the *vita*, taken almost entirely from the *miracula*, a man named Minas is struck by terrible fevers (Table 5.3). In this case, *ad Cyrum et Iohannem martyres* is simply replaced with *ad sanctissimum virum Barbatianum in cellulam* to reflect that it is the relics of Cyrus and John which are performing the healing in the former, but the living Barbatianus in the latter. Other changes in this passage, including the simplification and rewording of the rest of the text, alter its language but do not affect its meaning.

Finally, the main argument against the assumption made by Lanzoni in 1909 and continually reiterated, that the writer of the *vita* used the translation of Anastasius, comes directly from the text itself. While there is some debate as to the influence of Boniface's translation on Anastasius, the latter is known for his translations *ad verbum*, following the Greek as closely as possible. Ironically, Anastasius is critical of excessive literalness and describes a preference for translations which capture the essence of

Table 5.3 Introduction to the miracle of Minas

Latin Translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius 5	*Vita Sancti Barbatiani 7*
Hoc igitur per bis septem dies perpessus periculu, et ultra ferre non valens, ad Cyrum et Iohannem martyres confugit, eis vitam mortemque committens. Venit autem non pedibus, non iumento vectatus, non in phorii pilento considens, quae sedes est in qua deportari aegroti a non aegrescentibus assolent; nec enim sedere poterat, tam magno tumore interioribus eius extensis, ut nova visio cerneretur; sed in lectulo reiacens a sedecim hominibus per vices portatus est.	Qui dum per bis septem dies perpessus periculum, et ultra ferre non valens, ad sanctissimum virum Barbatianum in cellulam, ubi se adplicuerat, confugi, et eidem vitam mortemque committens, quando ad eum venit, non pedibus, neque furibo venit, in qua deportantur egroti, nec sedere poterat, nec ambulare, sed in lectulo jacens a sedecim hominibus vice portatus est.

the work, and in many of the letters and prologues attached to his works, he makes this view clear.[35] In the prologue to his translation of John the Almsgiver, he states: "When I translate this blessed text into eloquent Latin, as best as I was able, I strove neither for the Greek idioms nor the order of their words. I do not choose the word for word, but rather sense for sense."[36] The complexity and uniqueness of the vocabulary of Sophronius's *miracula*, and the desire perhaps for authenticity, resulted in Anastasius being unable to deliver on his goal of *ad sensum* translation. However, the reasoning behind the preference is clear:

> "Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Gregorius [translator of *passio* of Anastasius the Persian] and other contemporary Italian translators thus exhibit an awareness of different translation methodologies; they portrayed their method as more accurate and satisfying than the literal approach of early translators still favored by Carolingian scholars, and claim the authority of the great Christian translator [Jerome] as justification for their efforts."[37]

Beyond the modifications to language, two of the miracles taken from Sophronius's collection on Cyrus and John are transformed by details or new characters which are original to the *vita*, further claiming them as integral to Barbatianus's life. In the first miracle described in the *vita*, the Theodorus from the *miracula* of Cyrus and John is transformed into an unnamed *manipula* who was a member of Galla Placidia's court (and in the *vita*, it is Galla Placidia who requests the intervention of Barbatianus). In the final "healing" miracle of the *vita*, Barbatianus causes a man named Ursicius, who had planned to stab the saint in a fit of jealous rage, to be frozen in place. The story is set firmly in Ravenna by the author of the *vita*, with the assassination set to take place on a bridge near the church of John the Baptist, where Barbatianus maintained his monastic cell, as the saint went out to deliver alms given by the empress. This tale is neatly tied into the miracles adopted from Cyrus and John as Ursicius is made the jealous husband of Theodora, who appears in both the *miracula* of the Egyptian healers (miracle nine) and in the *vita* of Barbatianus (miracle 13). These root miracles formed a strong base on which to expand, and the addition of Theodora's husband further injects ownership of these miracles appropriated from Cyrus and John.

Ultimately, the choice to include these specific miracles was a complex one. They were likely unknown to an audience in Ravenna, but their integration into the *vita* suggests that the author had access to material which

was originally from Rome, and was decidedly connected to that city. Finally, these *miracula* had to be reformatted for their inclusion into the *vita* of Barbatianus, recasting material written to support the relics of deceased saints into a narrative illustrating the healing miracles of a living one.

5.3 The Miracles of Barbatianus

Of the miracles narrated in the *Vita Barbatiani*, only two are original in the sense that they do not rely on episodes from the *miracula* of Cyrus and John: the assistance Barbatianus provides Galla Placidia in obtaining a relic of John the Evangelist, and the miracle in which the jealous and murderous Ursicius is frozen in place without the saint's knowledge. Like the healing miracles adopted from the *miracula*, these two events were not only miraculous but further cemented Barbatianus's status as intercessor protected by God: it was during the vigil suggested by Barbatianus that John the Evangelist appeared (the taking of the sandal was left to the empress), and it was without the saint's knowledge that the arm of murderous Ursicius withered and his body frozen in place for hours until Barbatianus returns from offering aid to the poor. The details of these two miracles demonstrate the vividness of the imagination of the author of the *vita*, and his originality within the context of hagiographic literature.

The episode featuring Ursicius, although the last presented in the *vita*, offers the most realistic sense of Ravenna's geography. Barbatianus was described as moving through the city from his nascent monastic community at the church of John the Baptist to distribute alms to the poor. In the saint's travels, he is described as crossing a bridge over one of the city's many waterways, likely either over a canal or more likely the course of the river Padenna or Lamone, which once flowed freely and divided the town but had essentially become canals by the eighth century, or another canal.[38] The church and the bridge, both real to a tenth-century audience, would have made the miraculous nature of Barbatianus, in the protection offered to the saint and in his ability to restore the immobile Ursicius, even more appealing.

Outside of his restorative powers, Barbatianus's role in obtaining the relic of John the Evangelist was as the intercessor between evangelist and empress. This capture of a physical object from the realm of a dream-state or a vision must have been exceptionally miraculous to an audience familiar with other ways in which relics were found and visions communicated. What is equally compelling about the discovery of the sandal (on the foot of the saint, no less) is that this *vita* is the first recorded instance

of the relic, and is one of only a few relics of sandals known in the West, the other two being a sandal of Christ held in Rome and a sandal of St. Andrew, included in the portable alter made in Trier in the end of the tenth century.[39]

There is a long-standing tradition in hagiography of dreams that communicate the location of relics (as in the discovery of the remains of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius by Ambrose of Milan in the fourth century, and the relics of the bishop Probus in tenth-century Ravenna), the suitability for a site for the construction of a church or shrine, and the displeasure or happiness of the saints to their communities.[40] Within this tradition, the revelatory waking vision like the one shared by Barbatianus and Galla Placidia, had long been considered to be of divine origin and more exalted than the similar experience of an actual dream.[41]

Seldom were objects taken directly out of the spiritual world during a dream or vision. Even the ephemeral physical or sensual link between the spiritual vision and the secular world was celebrated, such as the sweet milk consumed by Perpetua during her first vision, which she was still able to taste after she wakes.[42] The other common mark left by encounters in dreams and visions would be those of the flesh. In Adomnan of Iona's seventh-century *vita* of Columba, the saint was beaten with a scourge wielded by an angel in a vision over three successive nights until he consecrated God's appointee as king; the saint bore the "bruises on his side for the rest of his life," a memento of his encounter.[43] However, in most cases, the vision itself typically is evidence enough of the spiritual encounter, and even in the middle of the ninth century, the audible groans of Jesus could be induced by the contemplation of various scenes from the life of Christ; those who heard it unquestionably demonstrated a saintly life.[44]

The location of Barbatianus's intercession, the church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna, had been the focus of interest even in the Carolingian period, in part due to the large number of late antique imperial portraits and scenes preserved in the church. Based on the descriptions of Agnellus, much of the interior decoration of the late antique church was still visible in the ninth century, and later, the legend of the foundation of the church would have been known through Agnellus's account and the now lost iconography and inscriptions on the apse and the arch of the church, which Agnellus himself described and used for information about the particularly treacherous voyage of Galla and her family, and the story of the foundation of the church and the mosaics she ordered for the apse:

> And [Galla Placidia also] built the church of St. John the Evangelist [San Giovanni Evangelista]. When she was going through the precarious dangers of the sea, with a storm having arisen, the keel tossed by waves, thinking she would be drowned in the deep, she vowed a vow to God concerning a church for his apostle; and she was freed from the fury of the sea.
>
> And within the apse of this church, over the heads of the emperors and empresses it reads thus: "Confirm, God, that which you have accomplished for us; from your temple in Jerusalem, kings offer you gifts [Ps 67:29–30]." And above you will find another line reading thus: "To the holy and most blessed apostle John the Evangelist, the empress Galla Placidia with her son the emperor Placidus Valentinian and her daughter the empress Iusta Grata Honoria fulfill the vow of liberation from the dangers of the sea."[45]

What is presented in the *vita* of Barbatianus does not exclude the material from Agnellus, but rather diminishes the backstory of the journey, one interrupted by a terrible storm, in order to present an additional fact seemingly incongruous with what must have been commonly known: that the church, especially one constructed by the imperial family in the capital, should not be dedicated without a relic.[46]

The specifics of the scene, with its late night prayer and phantom saintly figure, operate very much in the realm of a common hagiographic trope. Given the focus on the sandal, it presents a number of facets which demand further exploration: if the relic of the sandal and the story of its discovery was not known in the ninth century, where did the legend come from? Why of all possible relics was a single sandal chosen? And what happens to the legend of this relic after the writing of the *Vita Barbatiani* in the tenth century?

As to the first question, the answer is connected not to lost texts or oral tradition, but rather lies in the problems of attempting to make sense of late antique iconography which by the tenth century may have been unfamiliar, misunderstood or reinterpreted. To explain this, we must first consider the visual language of the text, in which the *vita* describes the empress Galla Placidia reaching for the feet of John the Evangelist who appears as a bishop, encouraged by her confessor, the blessed Barbatianus. This description becomes the basis for two related representations in the fourteenth century: the first scene in the manuscript of the *Tractatus constructionis Ecclesie Sancti Iohannis Evangeliste* preserved in the Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna, and the relief sculpture on the tympanum of the

portal of San Giovanni Evangelista, now restored after the destruction of the church during World War II[47] (Fig. 5.1).

These two images dutifully recreate the moment as described in the *vita*, but elaborate on the sparse descriptions by placing the activity into the contemporary medieval period. The simple scene from the *Tractatus* includes only three individuals, all marked with yellow halos. The first on the left is Barbatianus with a tonsured head, a practice not common until the seventh century and not depicted in the late antique mosaic representations in Ravenna.[48] Barbatianus wears a yellow chasuble with a black cross on the chest over a white alb, and he holds a book in his hand; in this guise, he fully conforms to expectations of a medieval monk, rather than a late antique holy man.[49] On the right stands John the Evangelist, swinging a censer in his right hand (described in the vision from the *vita*) while holding a crosier in his left, signifying his status as a bishop in iconography; this is reinforced with a tall double-"horned" miter with a red horizontal strip (*circulus*) across the brim and a red vertical stripe (*titulus*).[50] Unlike Barbatianus, John's chasuble is light orange, and under it, he seems to wear a dark blue dalmatic with a fringe over a white alb, further differentiating himself from the presbyter and holy man. Between



Fig. 5.1 Galla Placidia obtaining the sandal of John the Evangelists with the aid of Barbatianus from the *Tractatus hedificationis et constructionis ecclesie Sancti Iohannis Evangeliste* (Ravenna, Istituzione Biblioteca Classense, ms. 406, fol 1r)

them sits a ciborium, a common feature of Ravenna's churches, but anachronistic as it was unknown in Late Antiquity. At the bottom of the image, Empress Galla Placidia is depicted with a golden crown, a white-fringed red cloak, which matches the background of the scene, and a blue tunic. Most importantly, she holds in her hand what appears to be a decorated slipper rather than a sandal[51] (Fig. 5.2).

The relief on the tympanum of San Giovanni closely follows that of the *Tractatus* with an almost identical composition; however, the relief was worn and damaged during World War II; it was subsequently restored. The three figures are organized around a central ciborium in somewhat different clothing, although Barbatianus still holds a book, while John the Evangelist holds a censer and a crosier, and the empress Galla Placidia now lacks a halo. Four angels are added to the scene: two flanking the central activity and two flying above the saints.

These two representations, although embellished in their details, faithfully render the scene in the *vita* of Barbatianus. They also suggest an answer to the first question of where the legend may have originated. The iconography of both the *Tractatus* and tympanum are distinctive in that they depict an effort to reach the foot of a saint or take up the sandal; however, without the *vita* of Barbatianus as a guide to interpretation, the



Fig. 5.2 Galla Placidia, John the Evangelist and Barbatianus in central panal of the tympanum at the gate of San Giovanni Evangelista (San Giovanni Evangelista, Ravenna: photo Walter Borghini)

gesture of the empress would be much more consistent with the position of supplication or a donor; specifically, proskynesis at the foot of a saint, evoked in the iconography of patronage engaged with a specific holy figure.

Scenes featuring donors and patrons at the feet of their chosen saint or saints date back to at least the end of the fourth century. In a chamber under the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Rome, a fresco depicts a standing man (likely a martyr) offering prayer and dressed in white with two prostrating figures, used perhaps to indicate the status of the saint.[52] In another example, from Egypt in the eighth century, "the monk who owned the cell added a portrait of himself in the act of prostration before St. Apollo, thus indicating the personal relationship of patron and client"[53] (Fig. 5.3).

This example is complicated by the fact that the monk is before an image of a famous monk-father, and a "new situation is created by the fact that the private proskynesis is addressed to a monk-father represented in an image."[54] As representations of patronage become more firmly estab-



Fig. 5.3 Saqqara monastery, Cell A, north wall (photo J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara II*: *1906–1907* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1908), pl. XLIV)

lished, appearing in examples in both the East and the West, the use of proskynesis as indicative of patronage becomes very common in post-Iconoclastic Byzantine representations.[55]

Although images of imperial prostration are relatively rare in the medieval West, an Ottonian ivory plaque contemporary to the writing of the *vita* features an enthroned Christ who levitates between the saints Mauritius and Maria, while beneath the throne, on his knees, Otto I holds the foot of Christ to his mouth while presumably Adelaide holds the infant Otto II, who reaches out to imitate his father (Fig. 5.4).



Fig. 5.4 Ivory depiction of the Imperial Family of Otto I at the Feet of Christ (Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata; Comune di Milano, all rights reserved: photo Saporetti 2004)

The parallels are not exact, as Christ is depicted in the ivory with bare feet and there are a number of figures in the scene, but the basic iconographic model fits. Nevertheless, a complicated problem remains: if this was the type of scene that the author of the *vita* was trying to interpret, and scenes absent of imperial or royal figures would have been relatively common, how was it possible to make this kind of iconographic misinterpretation, or what was the impetus for a radical reinterpretation?

The solution is in the context. It is possible that the author of the *vita* was familiar with a scene of imperial proskynesis (and understood it as such), but was following the common tradition of Ravenna in its interpretation; or, that he reinvented the act of sandal-taking as supplication on his own. If it was misinterpretation of a scene of patronage, part of the confusion may have been that typical of scene in Ravenna does not feature prostration in its iconography. For example, surviving scenes of imperial patronage are prominent in the mosaics from San Vitale, where Justinian and Theodora stand with their offerings facing the altar from the side, while episcopal patronage appears with the bishop Ecclesius furnishing a model of the church of San Vitale directly to Christ in the apse. (Figs. 5.5 and 5.6).



Fig. 5.5 Mosaic of Emperor Justinian presenting a gift to Archbishop Maximian (San Vitale, Ravenna: photo Arthur P. Urbano)



Fig. 5.6 Mosaic of Bishop Ecclesius presenting the church of San Vitale to Christ (San Vitale, Ravenna: photo Arthur P. Urbano)

The latter form as a donor portrait is followed in another Ottonian ivory, in which Otto stands in the midst of saints (although in reduced stature), while he offers the church of Magdeburg to Christ with the assistance of Saint Mauritius (the same saint who is also featured in the panel with the prostrated imperial family).[56] With this as the main model for

donors even in the tenth century, the depiction of imperial prostrations would likely have been difficult to explain in Ravenna, except by noting the actions of the figures on their knees. Even in other examples of donor prostration, it looks as if the patrons are all touching the feet or sandals of their holy figures, and perhaps even holding them.

If this was the case, while not an elegant solution, the author of the *Vita Barbatiani* does a commendable job of trying to rationalize and reinterpret what might have been strange and unfamiliar. How the author of the *Vita Barbatiani* presented the etiological narrative of the lost original scene of imperial proskynesis would have seemed to the audience in Ravenna as valid as the original intent; the "failure to communicate" the original message of the lost scene, where proskynesis as patronage is interpreted as a means to obtain the sandal of a saint, later necessitated illustration that allows us to see the clear connections unavailable in the tenth century both to examples from Late Antiquity and those of the Ottonians. The continued reinterpretation of ancient and late antique objects and images in the Middle Ages without the decoding of inscriptions or other guides may be best represented by the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. Its many elements which would have been easy to discern in the Roman world proved puzzling to its medieval audience, who sought to find historical meaning in its form, details and placement; their elaborate explanations derived from medieval contexts mirror those created in the *Vita Barbatiani* for its own mysterious image.[57]

However, for the tenth-century audience, there may have been problems with reinterpreting a scene of proskynesis and describing the *inventio* of a relic which was not previously known; this leads to the second question of why a sandal remains. One possible answer may be related to the cult of John the Evangelist who was also considered to be John the Apostle; that in some Christian traditions, after John the Evangelist died outside of Ephesus, all that remained were his sandals and an empty grave; this would have been a convenient fact if known by the author of the *vita* of Barbatianus.[58] Furthermore, in the case of the Virgin Mary and Jesus, of whom there were very few physical remains, celebrated relics were often the remains of clothing or other objects which they came into contact with. In this case, the author may also have had in mind the relics of St. Andrew, which at the end of the tenth century were being collected together in a portable altar in Trier, and which prominently featured a large silver foot on the lid, inside of which the sandal was located.[59] In any

event, "even an object as humble as a shoe could absorb miraculous power through its regular and close contact with a holy man."[60]

The final question of what happens to the legend of the relic after the writing of the *Vita Barbatiani* in the tenth century leads to more evidence which supports the argument that the miracle of the sandal reported in the *vita* was derived from an innovative reading of the iconography of a panel featuring an imperial donation. Although the *vita* is clear that the relic is recovered and the church is subsequently dedicated, it makes no claims on the future of the relic itself; in fact, there are no other references to the relic until the thirteenth-century *Tractatus* and a sermon by the Archbishop Rainaldo da Concorezzo (1303–1321) included in the *Codex Estensis*. The *Tractatus*, which takes the form of a sermon on the history of the church and its foundation, not only recapitulates the story of the discovery of the relic from the *Vita Barbatiani* but also provides an account of the history of the relic after its discovery:

> Concerning the above mentioned sandal, while the empress and her son the emperor Valentinian were present, during the time of the blessed Peter, Bishop of Ravenna, and Saint Barbatianus, it was placed back in the church of the blessed John [the Evangelist]; moreover, its location was to be unknown, so that no one anywhere would have the opportunity to steal the hidden treasure.[61]

The fourteenth-century account of Rainaldo da Concorezzo goes even further to specify both the location of the relic's hiding place and its subsequent recovery in his time:

> The joyful empress watched over this most beloved [sandal] left behind. As the news of it spread, and I read in the account that in order to keep it safe, that this previously mentioned sandal was enclosed in the eastern part of the wall of his church …. It remained secured in this state that is the sandal, which the Blessed John had given to Placidia as a relic, and was kept in the wall of the arch of his church between certain images of the saints. With a small rolled-up parchment he [Deumasio the Mantuan] went to this church, and he inquired after the images of the saints, which offered the indication of its sign; with these things having been inspected, he asked the abbot of the monastery [of San Giovanni] and he uncovered it as it was described, with the result that he found the sandal. I have heard these things repeated by the very man himself, and was delighted with his full recapitulation, as he was of witty speech.[62]

In these two accounts, the validity of the legend of the sandal as described in the *Vita Barbatiani* was confronted long after it had been filtered through the local legends of Ravenna. The inconsistency of the location of relic, missing both physically in the city and in the legend presented in the *vita*, was corrected first in the description of its concealment, and then in its discovery. For these late medieval writers, the relic was not "missing" in the sense that it had not been recorded in contemporary accounts, but had instead been purposefully hidden away because its fame had grown too great and there was a fear of theft. Rainaldo completes the cycle when he presents the *inventio* of the relic and establishes its discovery as assisted by a mysterious *complicata membranula* (rolled parchment), which held the secret to its location inside of the church.

The solutions to the problem of the relic of John the Evangelist's sandal as raised in the *vita* of Barbatianus appear only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but offer further insight into the logic of the *vita*'s author. If the author created the episode himself as a reinterpretation of some of the iconography (either in San Giovanni Evangelista or from some other source), he might have purposefully ignored the lack of a relic in the tenth century to allow for a greater focus on Barbatianus himself, whose own relics were not well known and to prevent contemporary criticism of the veracity of the *vita* claimed as a fifth-century account. On the other hand, if the author of the *vita* built the episode from an oral tradition based on confusion over the iconography, he may have simply disregarded contemporary theories about the sandal's survival or location as irrelevant to the story; traditions like these later became the inspiration for the anonymous author of the *Tractatus* and for Archbishop Rainaldo, who in their own works sought to make sense of the legend and address the lack of a known sandal.

Although the construction of the episode of the recovery of the sandal marks an important and distinctive feature of the *vita*, it also suggests a great deal about the environment in which it was composed, as well as the needs of the author to create or formulate a miracle centered on both Barbatianus and the imperial family (in this case, Galla Placidia), within the limitations of absent relics. Ultimately, the discovery of the sandal suggests the collaborations between empress and saint, and between apostle and monk, aspects of which would have had significant relevance in the contemporary environment of tenth-century Ravenna.

Notes

1. On episcopal sanctity, see Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*: *The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*. The topic of the relationship between saintly healing and other modes of late antique and early medieval medical practice has received significant attention, including: Brown, *The Cult of Saints*: *Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, 113–20; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracles Accounts," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002). See also the framework for the function of holy men in Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971).
2. On the use of the *Liber pontificalis* in hagiography of this period, see Klaus Herbers, "Le Liber Pontificalis comme source de réécritures hagiographiques (IXe–Xe siècles)," *Beihefte der Francia* 58 (2003).
3. The use of elements from the *vita* of Pope Sylvester in the *vita* of Barbatianus was overlooked by Lanzoni.
4. "*Vita sancti Sylvestri papae et confessori*," in *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum II*: *Novam hanc editionem curaverunt duo monaci Solesmenses*, ed. Boninus Mombritius (Paris: Fontemoing et Socios, 1910), 508; "Vita sancti Silvestri papae Romae," in *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore*: *textes grecs*, ed. François Halkin (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1985), 20; Giovanni Nino Verrando, "S. Timoteo e il suo Martyrium sulla via Ostiense," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome* 102 (1990).
5. *Liber Pontificalis* 22.4.
6. His home in the cemetery and his solitary existence point toward the adoption by the author of the *vita* of the typical tropes connected to eremitic holy men. These would be relatively common in the tenth century when the *vita* was written, following the growing resurgence of the appearance and importance of hermits and recluses which was already underway. On the revival on eremitism, especially in Italy, see Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude*: *Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West*, 21–56; Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society*, *950–1200*.
7. *Manipula* likely means handmaiden. The use of *manipula* here is a rare occurrence in medieval Latin and is not found in the Latin translation of Sophronius; in the *Mitralis* of the twelfth-century Sicard of Cremona, he defined it as an alternate form of *mapula*, also known as a *mappula* or maniple, a special cloth "worn over the left arm that eventually came to be used by all the major [clerical] orders." Maureen Miller, *Clothing the clergy*: *Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe*, *c. 800–1200* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 28. In this instance, it is likely more closely related to the sense it is used for the position of *manipularis*, a term used in

Agnellus's *Liber Pontificalis* to describe the manager of an estate or administrator.

8. This was a common trope for holy men: "Other forms of healing follow the same rhythm. Many are connected with the administration of an innocuous *placebo* that is charged with the blessing of the holy man. The blessing gives reality and efficacy to what were thought of as the inscrutable workings of providence." Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," 96.
9. *LPR* 42. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 67–70.
10. The actual definition of *monasterium* in the context of Ravenna has been contested to a great degree because of its frequent appearance in Agnellus in what seem to be different circumstances. It can be used to signify a structure attached to a church (which may or may not actually house monks) as well as a monastic community of any size.
11. *VB* 14.
12. The word *librificus* is exceedingly rare but appears also in a letter of Peter Damian, where it is used in the sense of a "bookmaker."
13. In some manuscripts of the *vita* and of festival calendars, the day of his feast is given as December 31, which becomes the date common in calendars associated with Rome.
14. While the *vita* simply describes his interment in the church of John the Baptist, Agnellus's account in the *LPR* is inconsistent in this detail, and reports that he was buried by Galla Placidia and Peter Chrysologus in the church of John the Baptist; problematically, Agnellus suggest that the church was built by a late sixth-century general named Baduarius, lending a significant note of uncertainty to the location of his relics in Late Antiquity. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 104; Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna*: *Transformation and Memory*, 81–2.
15. In these respects, Barbatianus remains an unsatisfactory saint, falling neither into the category of a "saint above" through powerful relics nor as a "saint below" through a charismatic personality. On these facets, see Guy Philippart, "Saints Here Below and Saints Hereafter: Towards a Definition of the Hagiographical Field," *Studia Liturgica* 34 (2004): 41–46.
16. The fact that Barbatianus secured a relic for San Giovanni Evangelista is never mentioned in the *LPR*, although Agnellus described the story of the foundation of the church after a particularly treacherous sea journey, citing evidence from inscriptions (Chap. 42) and the mosaic Galla Palcidia orders for the apse (Chap. 27).
17. The most recent edition and commentary on the *miracula* appeared in Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*: *Contribución al esudio de la incubatio cristiana* (Madrid: Instituto "Antonio de Nebrija,"1975).

18. Cyrus, in his traditional form of Abbacyrus, appears on a frescoed icon in the atrium of Santa Maria from the middle of the eighth century, David Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 17–22. I owe a debt of gratitude to Maya Maskarinec for pointing me to this article and for sharing her work on Cyrus and John from her dissertation, *Building Rome Saint by Saint: Sanctity from Abroad and Home in the City (6th–9th century)* (UCLA, 2015).
19. While some details about a papal official of the seventh century named Bonifatius Consiliarius are known, the only evidence for his translation comes from a letter of Anastatius Bibliothecarius. Berschin, "Bonifatius Consiliarius: Ein römisher Übersetzer in der byzantinischen Epoche des Papsttums." On Anastasius's translation program in the ninth century, see Bronwen Neil, *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs: The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, Studia Antiqua Australiensia, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).
20. "Quorum videlicet miraculorum Bonifatius consiliarius ad petitum Theodori primicerii defensorum ecclesiae Romanae duodecim cum praefatione capitula olim interpretatus est" *MGH* Ep VII 427.
21. "It would be profitable to examine critically all references to this influential person in seventh/eighth-century Rome …. The *Liber pontificalis* mentions *Bonifatius* in the *Vita Benedicti II* (683–85) and *Vita Sergii* (687–701). Eddius Stephanus (*Vita S. Wilfridi*, cc. 5 and 53) and Bede (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* V 19) both mention him as the friend and teacher of Wilfrid, the missionary to the Frisians." Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 90, n. 12.
22. Bronwen Neil, "The Miracles of Saints Cyrus and John: The Greek Text and Its Transmission," *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 2 (2006).
23. John Duffy, "Observations on Sophronius' *Miracles of Cyrus and John*," *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 35 (1984).
24. In addition to these points, Lanzoni was first to observe that even though there are some differences between the surviving Latin translation of the *miracula* and the miracles in the *vita*, their similarities make it almost impossible to consider that the texts are unrelated. Lanzoni, "Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani Presbyteri et Confessoris,'" 713.
25. Neil, "The Miracles of Saints Cyrus and John: The Greek Text and Its Transmission." The most popular account of their lives based on the number of texts in surviving manuscripts would be their *passio* composed by

Peter the subdeacon (also known as Petrus Parthenopensis), extant in at least 12 collections from before the thirteenth century; *BHL* 2078.

26. Ibid.
27. Réka Forrai, "The Interpreter of the Popes: The Translation Project of Anastasius Bibliothecarius" (Central European University, 2008), 44.
28. The manuscripts which contain the *miracula* are all now located in Rome: *Vat. Lat.* 5410, *Vallicell.* H 8.2., and *Casanat.* 1046, which also all contain additional material relating to the saints Cyrus and John, including the *passio* (also translated by Anastasius (BHL 2077)), prefatory material from Sophronius, and the account of the translation of their relics. For example, *Vat. Lat.* 5410, which has been cited as the main surviving example of this translation, includes the *passio*, a Sermon on Cyrus and John by Cyril (*BHL* 2077d), the *miracula* (*BHL 2080*), and Anastasius's description of their translation to Rome (*BHL* 2080e). The other two manuscripts are also seventeenth-century compilations of material on these saints.
29. The Latin *passio* of Cyrus and John was more widely known, appearing in a ninth-century *legendaria* now in the bibliothèque de la ville in Chartres, but originally from the Abbey of Saint-Père (BM 063 [115 1/G]), and a tenth-century collection of material relating to Rome and the Carolingian line now in Montpellier (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine, H360).
30. Although Anastasius claims that he aims for *ad sensum* translations, studies of his other works have found that he often maintains a close parallels to the Greek originals against common Latin usage; see A. C. Dionisotti, "Translator's Latin," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 129 (2005).
31. On the specific ailment, see Fernández Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*: *Contribución al esudio de la incubatio cristiana*, 110.
32. The Latin of Anastasius has never received a modern edition, and has been published only alongside the Greek edition of *Narratio miraculorum sanctorum Cyri et Joannis* of Sophronius in *PG* 87, 3242–3676. An additional issue which might explain some of the incongruities between the Greek original and Anastasius's translation may have been that Anastasius was working from an error-ridden manuscript.
33. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 899. The noun ναυλοδόκος does not appear at all in the *TLG* and like ναυλομάχος, may be an entirely Byzantine Greek word of specialized meaning.
34. The use of *ad* in the Barbatianus text is odd, but may represent originally an accidental duplication following the subsequent *ad sui considerationem*. Orthographically, the vowel prefixed to the "*s*" transforming the initial *s* to *ex* and the transmutability of the Medieval Latin "*c*" and "*t*" allows for the variance between Anastasius's *specaculo* and the *vita*'s *expectaculum*.

35. Carmela Vircillo Franklin, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian*: *Hagiographic Translations and Transformations*, Studies and Texts (Toronto: PIMS, 2004), 109–14.
36. "Cum autem beatum hunc in Latinum verterem eloquium, nec Grecorum idiomata nec eorum ordinem verborum sequi potui vel debui. Non enim verbum e verbo, sed sensum e sensu excerpsi." *MGH* Ep VII 397.
37. Franklin, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian*: *Hagiographic Translations and Transformations*, 111.
38. The text of the *Vita Barbatiani* describes the waterway as a *flumin* (or *flumen*); however, the other common term for Ravenna's canals, *fossa*, seems to be used interchangeably in the language of the charters to describe man-made waterways by the tenth century. On the fate of Ravenna's urban rivers, see Paolo Fabri, "L'età antica e medievale," in *La mura nella storia urbana di Ravenna*, ed. Paolo Fabri (Ravenna: Società di studi ravennati, 2004), 47–49; Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 288.
39. On the sandal of St. Andrew, see Thomas Head, "Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier," *Gesta* 36 (1997). The later knowledge of the relic of the sandal is quite unclear, and there seems to be no other references to it until at least the fourteenth century (a fact discussed below). Despite the limitations of the material, it is given a more complicated backstory in other late medieval sources such as the *Tractatus constructionis Ecclesie Sancti Iohannis Evangeliste*.
40. The hagiography from Gaul, and in particular the works of Gregory of Tours, have played an important role in popularizing the efficacy and authority of visions and dreams; see in particular Isabel Moreira, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*. The authority given to dreams in hagiographic literature allowed for the "sanctioning and validating the dream experience and placing it within the framework of religious experience. It is in this context that we encounter the dream as a *topos* in the building of churches, the dream having served as the impetus for their construction, refurbishment, or aggrandizement or as the source of assistance during their building campaign." Carolyn M. Carty, "The Role of Medieval Dream Images in Authenticating Ecclesiastical Construction," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999): 45.
41. On the hierarchy of dreams and visions first elucidated in the fourth century, see Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 28–32.
42. Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity*: *Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Katharina Waldner, "Visions, Prophecy, and Authority in the *Passio Perpetuae*," in

Perpetua's Passions: *Mulidisciplinary Approaches to the Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Marco Formisano (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

43. "cuius livorosum in ejus latere vestigium omnibus suae diebus permansit vitae." Adomnan, *Vita Columbae* III.6. A similar episode is presented in Bede's *Historiam ecclesiasticam centis anglorum*, where archbishop Laurentius of Canterbury is scourged by Saint Peter in a vision when he attempts to leave Britain; his marks provide the impetus for a royal conversion (II.6).
44. In a sermon of Prudentius of Troyes after the death of the noble and saintly Maura, he discloses that faced with three images of Christ, she heard "the child crying on his mother's lap, the young man groaning on the cross, and the king thundering dreadfully on the throne." Thomas F. X. Noble, "Images, a Daydream, and Heavenly Sounds in the Carolingian Era: Walahfrid Strabo and Maura of Troyes," in *Envisioning experience in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*: *Dynamic Patterns in Texts and Images*, ed. Giselle de Nie and Thomas F. X. Noble (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 35–6.
45. "Aedificauit que ecclesiam sancti Iohannis euangelistae. Cum esset angustiosa per discrimina maris gradiens, orta procella, carina quassante a fluctibus, putans mergere in profundum, Deo uotum uouit de apostoli ecclesia fabricanda; liberata est a furia maris. Et infra tribunam ipsius ecclesiae super capita imperatorum et augustarum legitur ita: 'Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis; a templo tuo in Ierusalem tibi offerent reges munera.' Et desuper alium uersum inuenies sic legentem: 'Sancto ac beatissimo apostolo Iohanni euangelistae, Galla Placidia augusta cum filio suo Placido Valentiniano augusto et filia sua Iusta Grata Honoria augusta liberationis periculum maris uotum soluent.'" *LPR* 42, Translation Deliyannis.
46. The practice of placing a relic within an altar for the dedication and consecration of a church is one of the late fourth century, although "the practice was general rather than universal, and relics were not essential for the dedication of a church or altar." Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*? *Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 446.
47. The *Tractatus* has been preserved in two manuscripts: an illuminated version in Ravenna, Bib. Classense 406 and in the *Codex Estensis*. The manuscript held in the Biblioteca Classense contains only the *Tractatus* (which includes a *vita* of Galla Placidia and the legend of the foundation of the church of San Giovanni Evangelista), a list of "archbishops of the church of San Giovanni," and on its back cover, an unpublished poem in Latin. The text of the *Tractatus* from the *Codex Estensis* was published by Muratori in *RIS* I.2, 567–570. An overview and Italian translation of the text appears in Mario Pierpaoli, "La costruzione di San Giovanni

Evangelista secondo il Codice Classense 406: Traduzione del Tractatus hedificationis et constructionis Ecclesie Sancti Iohannis Evangeliste de Ravena," *Ravenna Studi e Ricerche* 7 (2000).

48. While two images of tonsured clergy appear in San Vitale, one in the entourage of the bishop Maximianus in the imperial portrait of Justinian, the other bishop Ecclesius on the apse, both were products of twelfth-century modification. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 238, 40.
49. Along with a stole (which was not depicted), these would have been the "standard clerical attire for the liturgy" even in the early versions of the Roman ordination rites. Miller, *Clothing the clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800–1200*, 29.
50. Ibid., 201–6.
51. It is likely that she holds a late medieval version of a *sandalia*, or a type of ornamental overshoe.
52. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 80. Kim Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
53. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, 80.
54. Beat Brenk, "Apses, Icons and 'Image Propaganda' before Iconoclams," *Antiquité Tardive* 19 (2011): 121.
55. Leslie Brubaker, "Gesture in Byzantium," *Past and Present*, no. 203 (2009).
56. The ivory depicting Otto's donation of Magdeburg Cathedral to Christ is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.
57. Dale Kinney, "The Horse, the King and Cuckoo: Medieval Narrations of the Statue of Marcus Aurelius," *Word & Image* 18 (2002).
58. In the *Repose of St. John the Evangelist* from the tenth-century Coptic manuscript, it records that after his death his disciples "did not find [him], but only his sandal and fresh earth in the place he had gone to." Translation in Anthony Alcock, "The Repose of St John the Evangelist and Apostle," http://www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/The-Repose-of-John_alcock_2013.pdf; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1913), 240.
59. The reliquary of St. Andrew was constructed under the patronage of Egbert, bishop of Trier from 977 to 993. "With this foot as frame for Andrew's sandal, Egbert created a striking, memorable and indeed beautiful image, while perhaps also making a personal claim to 'walk in the footsteps' of mission and conversion implied by the sandal, which was inherited

by the bishop of an apostolically founded see." Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204* (State College, PA: Penn State University Press, 2012), 6. Analysis of the construction and intention of this relic (and that of the staff of John the Baptist) by Egbert is also undertaken in Head, "Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier."

60. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*, 245.
61. "Praedicta vero sandalia, praesente Augusta et filio eius Valentiniano Augusto, per Beatum Petrum tunc Ravennae Pontificem, Sanctumque Barbatianum in Ecclesia Beati Johannis reposita est. Locum autem ideo voluit ignorari, ut occultum thesaurum nullus qualibet occasione posset eripere." *Tractatus* 596 col. 1 D.
62. "Depositum gratissimum Augustua laeta fervavit. Fama celebris est etiam, et legi Scripturam, quae continet, quod jam dicta sandalia sit in muro eius Ecclesiae ad partem Orientis inclusa …. In ea continebatur, quomodo in muro fonicis eius Ecclesiae inter certas Sanctorum Imagines sandalia reservabatur, quam Beatus Johannes in monumentum Placidiae dederat. Complicata membranula perrexit ad eam Ecclesiam, perquisivitque Sanctorum Imagines, quae signum rei dabant inspicere; quibus inspectis euis Monasterii Abbatem quaerit, rem per ordinem aperit, ut invenit. Haec ego iterum ab ipso homine audivi, nam eius frequenti confabulatione oblectabar; erat enim festivi sermonis." *Tractatus* of Raynaldo de Concorezzo, *RIS* I.2 573 col. 2 C.

CHAPTER 6

Barbatianus in the Later Middle Ages

The inclusion of the *Vita Barbatiani* in liturgical compilations in the eleventh century across Tuscany and Romagna signaled the end of the initial growth of the cult and its integration into the hagiographic landscape, both of which began in the last quarter of the tenth century. After that point, the saint had firmly become part of the community of holy men attached to the city of Ravenna, and particularly affirmed the link between contemporary medieval Ravenna and its late antique imperial past. With a standard *vita* in wide circulation, Barbatianus continued to appear in written sources and appropriated into sermons and pseudo-hagiographic texts, while his *vita* was included as an abridged version in large-scale collections (including one translated into Venetian vernacular). Geographically, the cult spread beyond Ravenna, first to monastic institutions connected to the nobles of the city, and later regionally, including twelfth-century churches dedicated in his honor in Bologna and outside of Milan.

The history of Barbatianus's cult after the composition of the *vita* in the tenth century demonstrates the plasticity of the useful past in the Middle Ages. Although the saint's relationship to the empress Galla Placidia, his status as a hermit and later a monastic reformer and his miraculous cures remained important aspects of his sanctity, they no longer carried the same level of importance they had when the *vita* was written. Instead, his membership in the community of the saints of Ravenna and his humility became the core values for his legend in the writings of Peter Damian, and the centrality of his relics translated to the cathedral in the twelfth century

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2_6

became the touchstone for his further local veneration. In these categories, Barbatianus became just one of many, his individuality and the exceptional development of his *vita* lost; while the slow spreading of his *vita* would guarantee that his cult would survive, the impetus for its creation would be lost, becoming an artifact of the challenges and environment of Ravenna in the late tenth century.

6.1 Barbatianus in the Eleventh Century and the Sermon of Peter Damian

By the middle of the eleventh century, the local Ravennate nobility had lost their enthusiasm for supporting small urban monasteries; the city had faded in importance for the imperial family of the Holy Roman Empire, and the ferocity of monastic reform had transferred to newly established institutions on the backs of more contemporary figures, like Romuald. Once the factors that had made the *vita* of Barbatianus worthy of composition ceased to be relevant, the monastery of Barbatianus and John the Baptist, which was supported by the myth of its foundation in the *vita*, entered its own slow demise. The monastery had fallen under the authority of the archbishop of Ravenna in the early eleventh century, and it became one of a number of small monastic foundations from whose holdings rents could be extracted. The final straw, however, must have been when the monastery was handed over to Pomposa in 1040. Finally, according to later sources, the relics of Barbatianus were moved into Ravenna's cathedral (and later further scattered). At that point, with his relics supporting the authority of the archbishop, a mosaic image of Barbatianus was included in the apse during its renovations in the twelfth century, reaffirming his role as one of Ravenna's many local saints.[1]

In the midst of these changing contexts, the second most important text on the life of Barbatianus appeared: a sermon offered by Peter Damian. The sermon was delivered on December 31, the day his feast was celebrated in Rome rather than in Ravenna, in the early 1040s.[2] As the veneration of Barbatianus was no longer tied to promoting the connection between the imperial family and Ravenna's holy men and their monasteries, or highlighting the miraculous power of the saint to obtain relics, the promotion of the cult became part of Damian's larger effort to encourage the reform of the church in Ravenna in terms of its spiritual and behavioral practices. The sermon opens with two parallels highlighting the spiritual

position and history of Barbatianus; first between Christ and the saint, as the one responsible for salvation and the other imbued with the power to heal while cloaked in the faith of Christ; and second, between the travels of Barbatianus and those of the morning star rising in the east and setting in the west; however, it primarily stresses other aspects. For the majority of the sermon, Damian promoted what had become the most important of the saint's attributes: Barbatianus's powers as a miraculous healer and his modesty expressed through the saint's desire to avoid recognition for his miraculous cures. Damian directs his audience to imitate Barbatianus's humility:

> Behold this most blessed man Barbatianus, whose festival illuminates today for us, who did not seek the glory of human praise, who did not desire the attention of men, who did not wish to appear himself admirable on account of the many miracles he performed, and who did not expect to receive earthly reward for the carrying out so many services for the infirm.[3]

In regard to the most notable aspect of Barbatianus's legend and *vita*, his relationship to Empress Galla Placidia as confessor and spiritual advisor, Damian argued that the saint's authority and relationship to the imperial family were derived not from his sanctity, asceticism or parallels to other holy men, but almost exclusively from the miraculous healing abilities that the saint sought to conceal.

When she is mentioned in the sermon, Galla Placidia was described as seeking out the saint for his miraculous medical gifts, and demanding "his help for her female attendant, who was suffering from intolerable pains in her eyes."[4] It is telling that Damian chose to leave unmentioned the assistance provided by Barbatianus in obtaining the relic of the sandal of John the Evangelist, or even the fact that the relics of Barbatianus were said to heal the sick, both specified in the *vita*.[5] While the *vita* was originally constructed to fulfill specific goals, to highlight the connection of the saint with the imperial family and offer Ravenna an early urban monastic leader tied to an operating monastery, in the hands of Damian, its intentions were transformed into a template for the types of spiritual and personal reform common to the eleventh century. This treatment of Barbatianus was not unique, and Damian was not limited to reframing the sanctity of this saint alone. The same general trends are apparent in other local saints, including the founder of Ravenna's church Apollinaris, the bishops

Severus and Eleuchadius and the martyr Vitalis, for whom Damian also composed sermons based on the slim biographical details of their *vitae*, compounded with his interest in spiritual reform and order.[6]

The closest parallel comes from the sermon for the early bishop Eleuchadius.[7] Although in the *LPR*, Agnellus noted that Apollinaris consecrated Eleuchadius as a deacon and cited his mention in the *passio* as *philosophus*, the biography stressed his role as a writer of biblical commentaries and a work on the incarnation. In the sermon of Damian on Eleuchadius, these facets of his life are diminished in favor of the saint as a model for the relationship between master and pupil, and later became the grounds for exploring pastoral reform in parallel with the destruction of the golden calf by Moses.[8]

Although the Barbatianus that Peter Damian presented was formed through a narrow reading of the *vita*, the sermon attested to the position of the saint as having become fixed within the hagiographic landscape of Ravenna along with the other local saints for whom he wrote sermons. This fact, and that his feast already appeared in Ravenna's liturgical calendar, were factors which ultimately encouraged continued interest in the saint. Through the continued circulation of Damian's sermons, these saints maintained a degree of popularity and awareness greater than the popularity from their *vitae alone*. This was especially true for the *Vita Barbatiani*, which almost entirely disappeared from functional hagiographic collections in the early thirteenth century (with only two example from Bologna created after the twelfth century); the sermons, on the other hand, were personally distributed by Damian to a number of monasteries during his own lifetime, which were then further disseminated and are found in numerous compilations of his writings and broader collections of sermons.[9]

The reframing of the life of Barbatianus allowed for it to be relevant without his historical relationship to physical objects (like his own relics and the sandal of John the Evangelist) and locations which might have encouraged the continued activity of his cult (the monastery of Barbatianus, and later the cathedral). This was likely as much a factor in the failure of the saint's cult to nurture a community of followers as the decline of the monastery of Barbatianus, or the shift in hagiographic emphasis during the reform movements of the eleventh century, which sought to use the lives and activities of contemporary leaders and spiritual figures in promoting specific institutions, communities or patterns of reform.[10]

6.2 The Legend of Barbatianus in the Twelfth Century and Beyond

Despite the decline of the cult of Barbatianus in Ravenna and the appropriation of parts of his legend in the sermon of Peter Damian, the diffusion of the *vita* and the celebration of the feast of Barbatianus still had an impact at local and regional levels. In the twelfth century, the name of Barbatianus appeared in a poem by the jurist Hugutius of Pisa, while the saint's feast was included in a broad range of contemporary liturgical calendars. The *vita* itself remained visible through references in later Ravennate histories, and eventually two churches were dedicated in his honor, notably in Bologna, and the village of Tribiano outside of Milan.[11] This diffusion, although seemingly wide, represents the limited dispersal of what had been a local cult which did not possess potent or well-known relics or even a specific sacred location, but nevertheless had become part of the wider regional hagiographic fabric.

Hugutius of Pisa was a polymath of the late twelfth century. We are aware of his work as a grammarian in the form of his very popular etymological dictionary, the *Derivationes*, his career as a jurist and legal scholar (writing a commentary of Gratian's *Decretum*), as a professor of canon law in Bologna and his tenure as the bishop of Ferrara from 1190 until his death in 1210.[12] In view of his career, his least known work is the *Agiographia*, a poem of 936 lines that playfully offered false etymologies and descriptions of saints following the order of their feasts. Barbatianus appears early in the *Agiographia* as the second of the saints mentioned following the feast of the circumcision, and there are seven lines dedicated to him:

> BARBATIANUS is called from *bari* which is "strong" and *batin* which is "step"
> and *ana* that is "high," as Barbatianus is called so because
> he possessed the strength to advance higher, that is to a celestial glory;
> or he was called *barba*, that is matureness and courage, because a "beard"
> is the sign of courage, and he himself was firm against sin and he is called from
> the term *bar* meaning son and blessedness, for that reason then *Barbatianus* means the son of blessedness.[13]

These lines follow a similar description of the Feast of the Circumcision (January 1), which indicates that Hugutius was following the liturgi-

cal calendar of Ravenna. Absent of any details other than the name "Barbatianus," it seems likely that Hugutius was simply using a calendar of feasts known to him. Cremascoli, the modern editor of the text, noted the influence from Emilia-Romagna on the saints included in the poem, including those with strong ties to Ravenna like Severus, Apollinaris and Vitalis. He argued that it was likely due to Hugutius's time in Bologna and Ferrara, which by the thirteenth century shared a common regional hagiographic corpus with Ravenna.

For Bologna in particular, the connection to Ravenna and its church had been strong since Late Antiquity, and the link between the two cities was visible not only in shared saints but also in the large number of bishops and archbishops who had shared links with the two cities; notably John IX da Tossignano, who served as archbishop of Ravenna (905–914) after an appointment as a priest in Bologna and then again later as Pope John X (914–928); and the long-serving archbishop Peter IV of Ravenna (927–971), who was frequently described as a native of Bologna.

Reflecting the same type of shared regional hagiography, the mention of Barbatianus and his feast appear in contemporary regional liturgical works like calendars, breviaries and graduales, ranging from Forlí to Padova. The earliest mention of Barbatianus in a calendar is in the early twelfth century, in a breviary originally from Pomposa (perhaps the earliest breviary from that monastery), which ended up in the monastery of S. Bona of Vidor in the area of Treviso. Its original location would not have been surprising, given that the monastery of Pomposa was given control over what remained of the monastery of Barbatianus in 1040. As befitting a breviary from Pomposa, with its strong connections to Ravenna, many other local saints appear, including the bishops Apollinaris, Severus, Eleucadius, Probus and Ursicinus, and the martyrs Victor and Vitalian.[14]

As has been shown by Giampaolo Ropa, the liturgy of Ravenna had a significant influence on nearby communities, one which was driven not by political interests but by the influence of the clergy.[15] In particular, as in the breviary from Pomposa, the appearance of Barbatianus in other calendars and liturgical works suggests a new diffusion of Ravennate saints in the eleventh century, typically connected to reformed monasteries which likely trace some connection back to Ravenna. For example, Barbatianus appears in the *martyrologium* in the beginning of a plenary missal of the eleventh century attributed to the monastery of Saint Ambrose in Ranchio (also known as the *monasterium Sancti Ambrosii de Rancla*, located near the city of Sarinia in the Romagna), now in the Walter Art Gallery. As

in the *Agiographia* of Hugutius, the feast appears following that of the circumcision of Christ on January 2, and includes the feasts of the other major Ravennate saints (Apollinaris, Severus, Probus, Eleucadius and Ursicinus).[16]

The connections between the local hagiographic landscape and the influence of Sant'Apollinare in Classe and Pomposa extend radially, but even beyond their influence, the feast of Barbatianus became well known, and appeared in a number of other calendars and *martyrologia*, including Cluny, Rome and the Benedictine abbey at Anchin (ancient Aquicintum).[17]

The legend of the saint also remained visible within the hagiographic landscape of Ravenna itself, although far less often. In the fourteenth century, segments of the *vita* appear in a breviary which was created for the Carmelite community connected to the church of Santa Maria in Porto, now in the Morgan Library in New York. The manuscript, made in Bologna in a secular workshop, includes a calendar for Ravenna, a psalter, hymnal, the *proprium de tempore*, *proprium de sanctis* and *commune sanctorum* (all texts organized around the liturgical calendar), and concludes with the Offices of the Dead and the Offices of Corpus Christi.[18] Although relatively consistent with other breviaries of the period, it contains a number of qualities which tie it to the community of nuns in Santa Maria in Porto and to Ravenna. For example, the calendar includes the feasts of many Ravennate saints, including that of Barbatianus (also on January 2) and the early bishop-saints Eleucadius, Exuperantius and Calocerus, as well as the date of the consecration of the church of Santa Maria.

More importantly, in the *proprium de sanctis*, (readings on saints arranged within the liturgical year), five short selections or *lectiones* are taken directly from the third and fourth chapters of the *Vita Barbatiani*. These are the only additions of material about a local saint, which might suggest that the *vita* was easily available in Bologna, where the cult had been established before the twelfth century, as we have seen from Hugutius of Pisa and the dedication of a church in the city. These sections, significantly abridged, open with the context of Galla Placidia and her family, and with Barbatianus in Rome; it proceeds to describe the first meeting of the empress and the saint, and the subsequent healing of the eyes of the *manipula*. The appearance of these sections, including an abbreviated version of the first miracle from the *vita*, suggests that Barbatianus was still relevant for his connection to the empress, his humility (in avoiding fame) and his ability to provide miraculous cures.

While the feast itself traveled far, the legend of Barbatianus derived from the *Vita Barbatiani* was distributed less widely; however, because of its inclusion in many local hagiographic collections, it was readily available to later medieval and early modern writers, and was integrated into the infrequent descriptions of the history of Ravenna and its churches. The most visible use of the vita was in the incorporation of its biographic nucleus into the *Tractatus edificationis et constructionis eclesie sancti Iohannis*, as well as in a short sermon by the archbishop Rainaldo in the thirteenth century. Outside of these primarily ecclesiastical settings, the material from the *vita* also appeared in the more comprehensive histories of the early modern period, such as the *Historiarum Ravennatum* (published in 1589) of Girolamo Rossi and Girolamo Fabri's *Le sagre memorie di Ravenna antica* a century later.[19] A reference to Barbatianus is also made in a tract, *Gallae Placidae Augustae Vita*, by Giovanni Pietro Ferretti, a Ravennate priest, which contains two mentions of Barbatianus presumably taken from the *vita*.[20]

Outside of Ravenna, Bologna adopted Barbatianus into its own local fabric. A monastery that was connected to a *parrochia* (local church) dedicated to Barbatianus in Bologna was mentioned in a papal charter of 1114 in which the pope, Paschal II, reaffirms the episcopal rights over it and some other urban monasteries, an indication that the cult had expanded from Ravenna to Bologna in the intervening centuries.[21] Later, the Barberia, one of the local neighborhood lay religious societies established in the thirteenth century during the age of the Bologna Popolo, recorded in its charter of 1255 the annual donation of candles for that same church.[22] Even further afield, in the late eleventh or twelfth century, another church was dedicated to Barbatianus in the area outside of Milan in the village of Tribiano.[23] But as in Ravenna, the prominence of the saint's history in Milan and Bologna eventually fades into the background; even his church at the core of Bologna's *parochia*, refurbished in the seventeenth century, now stands abandoned.

6.3 Noble and Monastic Diffusion of the *Vita Barbatiani*

Like the feast found in calendars, the *vita* of Barbatianus expanded to its greatest influence in the 200 years after its creation in the tenth century. In the eleventh century, the vita was championed as part of the hagiographic corpus of the city by Ravennate nobles, most visibly in the work

of the family known later as the Guidi, who exported Ravenna's distinctive local traditions through the endowment and patronage of monasteries and episcopal institutions well beyond the city. While in the eleventh and twelfth century the *vita* was included with other major Ravennate saints like Apollinaris and Severus in hagiographic collections found in Ravenna and nearby Bologna, it was also found in *legendaria* from Tuscany connected to the monasteries of San Fidele di Strumi in Poppi, San Salvi in Florence and San Bartolomeo in Pistoia.[24] The links between these monasteries and the appearance of the *vita* of Barbatianus in their hagiographic collections were forged by a particular group invested in propagating the cults of Ravenna's saints; the nobles of the city who were also involved in the establishment of these monasteries and other religious houses outside of Romagna.

For one of these monasteries, San Fedele, a number of surviving charters document the clear connection between the monastery and Ravenna through the Guidi family. This noble family traced its lineage to Tetgrimus, a count of Germanic origins who married Ingelrada, the daughter of a Frankish *comitissa* also named Ingelrada and the *dux* Martinus, the scion of one of Ravenna's ducal families in the early tenth century.[25] The Guidi became major patrons of monastic houses in Tuscany, where in the early tenth century, Tetgrimus received the rights to govern the monastery of San Salvatore in Agna, located in Pistoia, and also held power in Ravenna, where the family of his wife Ingelrada had provided donations directly to the Church. Ingelrada was also connected to a number of small monastic houses in Ravenna, Rimini and Pesara through the patronage of her mother. Ultimately, a calamitous conflict with archbishop Peter IV in the 960s caused the family to lose their holdings within Ravenna and the lowlands of Romagna, but they continued to maintain their properties and castles in the Apennines (in present day Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna), especially the Casentino valley and the areas around Bibbiena and Poppi.

The monastery of San Fedele di Stumi was founded by the Guidi in 992 and supported with donations from the family, who in this period had begun to concentrate their holdings in Poppi and the surrounding areas; further donations through the fourteenth century tied the family and the monastery together long after the Guidi ceased to be associated with Ravenna.[26] Although these charters only document the donation of land or changes in the management of property, these links illustrate the route by which the *vita* of Barbatianus, with its focus on Ravenna's late antique history and imperial family, likely found its way into the San Fedele's hagiographic corpus.

The manuscript from San Fedele which contains the life of Barbatianus is a medieval compilation with sections taken from many different documents (and at a codicological level difficult to analyze); the *vita* appears at the beginning of the first section, and only as a fragment on the recto of the first folio (including the incipit and ending with the conclusion of the second chapter).[27] In a detailed study on the saints found in the hagiographical collections of the monastery, Pierluigi Licciardello noted the strong influence of saints from Emilia in the collections, although he suggests this was perhaps under the influence of the Vallombrosian order, who themselves shared a connection to the local saints of Ravenna as it had been established by Romuald. However, Licciardello also comments on the unique inclusion of the *vita* of Barbatianus, as the saint was not included in the other early liturgical manuscripts and calendars of the monastery, in those of the local collections of Arezzo, nor the monastery at Camaldoli.[28]

Like San Fedele, the church of San Salvi in Florence had once been a rural oratory during the eleventh century, which developed into a monastic church that was taken over by the Vallombrosian order in 1048.[29] Like the manuscript once kept in San Fedele, the hagiographic collection from San Salvi containing the life of Barbatianus was part of a compilation from many different manuscripts of various periods; the first section was a *legendarium* which began in November and included the saints in calendrical order of their feast days (given a dating range of the eleventh or twelfth century by Guglielmetti), with the *vita* of Barbatianus appearing on December 31, the date the feast was celebrated in the Roman calendar and in the sermon of Peter Damian. While there seem to be no direct links between San Salvi and the noble families of Ravenna, in the late eleventh century, the Guidi offered a number of donations to other nearby monasteries belonging to the Vallombrosians, including Santa Maria di Firenze in 1066 and directly to the monastery of Vallombrosia in 1098.[30] Although the link here is tenuous, the relationship between the Guidi and the Vallombrosians, just as with the monastery of San Fedele, may offer an explanation for the appearance of the *vita* of Barbatianus in the hagiography of the smaller monastery.[31]

Turning from monastic to episcopal patronage, the link between San Bartolomeo in Pistoia and the hagiography of Ravenna is built on a long-standing relationship between the Guidi and the bishops of Pistoia. From the middle of the tenth century, the bishops were frequently the beneficiaries of gifts from Tetgrimus and his heirs, with charters attesting to donations and patronage from 941 through to the end of the eleventh

century.[32] In addition, the archival records of San Barolomeo are relatively rich for the tenth and eleventh centuries, and suggest that the bishop frequently exerted (or attempted to exert) control over the monastery of San Barolomeo, which may suggest the route by which the *vita* of Barbatianus appeared in the monastery's manuscript.

Although these monasteries possessed hagiographical collections with the life of Barbatianus and calendars with the date of his feast, the fact that the saint was not included in new collections in Tuscany after the end of the eleventh century suggests the limit of the text's authority in relationship to geography. Bound to Ravenna through the location and context of its creation, and limited in its distribution through the connection to noble Ravennate families like the Guidi, who began to lose their local authority in Ravenna after the judgment against them by Otto I in 967 and were absent from the affairs of the city by the eleventh century, the decline in the *vita* of Barbatianus's relevance for San Fedele, San Salvi and San Bartolomeo was inevitable.[33]

Notes

1. A surviving mosaic portrait of the saint, now in the Museo Arcivecovile in Ravenna, depicts a tonsured and bearded man. The identification of the saint as Barbatianus is at best a guess.
2. The sermon was offered most likely in 1044 or 1045; on the context and theology of sermon 65, see Hans Peter Laqua, *Traditionen und Leitbilder bei dem Ravennater Reformer Petrus Damiani, 1042–1052*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, Bd. 30 (Munich: Fink, 1976), 209–22; Giovanni Lucchesi, "Il sermonario di s. Pier Damiani come monumento storico, agiografico e liturgico," *Studi gregoriani per la storia della "Libertas ecclesiae"* 10 (1975): 35–36; Schoolman, "Engineered Holy Authority and the Tenth-Century *vita* of St. Barbatianus of Ravenna." The date of the feast, as offered in the edition of Lucchesi is December 31; the tradition in Ravenna, at least when the *vita* was first promulgated, was for the feast to occur on January 2 (that date is also given in the *vita* from Ravenna and other texts specifically connected with the city). It is unclear why Damian chose to use the Roman date of December 31.
3. "Ecce enim hic beatissimus uir Barbatianus, cuius hodie nobis festiuus natalis illuxit, non humanae laudis gloriam petiit, non fauores hominum aflectauit, non de ostensis tot miraculis apparere ipse mirabilis uoluit, non de collatis tot in languidos beneficiis humanae retributionis praemium expectauit." Sermo 65.6; Giovanni Lucchesi, ed. *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones*, CCCM LVII (Turnholt: Brepols, 1983).

4. "suppliciter eius flagitabat auxilium pro quadam sua pedissequa, quae intolerabilibus cruciabatur doloribus oculorum" Sermo 65.7. It is clear in this reading that Peter Damian understood the term *manipula* in the *vita* to correspond to *pedisequa*, a female attendant or waiting woman.
5. The relics of Barbatianus, likely in the cathedral in the middle of the eleventh century, were certainly known to Peter Damian and his audience. Their repositioning in the cathedral was part of the centralization of authority of the archbishop which began with the relics of Probus and Ursicinus, also moved at the end of the tenth century, as "relics were prized not simply for their thaumaturgic power, but also for their ability to substitute for public authority" Patrick J. Geary, "Sacred commodities: the circulation of medieval relics," in *The Social Life of Things*: *Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 179.
6. Agnellus Ravennatis, "Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis," ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 69.
7. Peter Damian, Sermon 6.
8. For an analysis of the motifs used by Damian, see Laqua, *Traditionen und Leitbilder bei dem Ravennater Reformer Petrus Damiani*, *1042–1052*, 222–33.
9. The last appearance of the *vita* was in an abbreviated form in a Sanctoral of the early fourteenth century made in Bologna for the community of Carmelite nuns in the monastery of Santa Maria in Porto in Ravenna. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.373. On the manuscript history of the sermons, see Lucchesi's introduction to Peter Damian, *Sermones*, CCCM 57 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983). On the dissemination of Peter Damian's texts to Montecassino, see Emily A. Bannister, "'A monastic ark against the current flood': the manuscripts of Peter Damian at the Abbey of Montecassino," *European Review of History* 17 (2010).
10. Three hagiographic biographies on contemporary figures which fit the new pattern are the *vitae* of Gerald of Aurillac (including one authored by Odo of Cluny) in the tenth century, the various lives of Dominic of Sora at the end of the eleventh and even Peter Damian's own *vita* for Romuald, as noted in the previous chapter.
11. The church of San Barbaziano in Bologna, completely restored in the eighteenth century and now abandoned.
12. Recent work on Hugutius includes Wolfgang P. Müller, "Huguccio of Pisa: Canonist, Bishop, and Grammarian?," *Viator* 22, no. 1 (1991); *Huguccio*: *The Life*, *Works*, *and Thought of a Twelfth-Century Jurist* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994).
13. "BARBATIANUS dicitur a bari quod est forte et <batin> quod est / gradus et ana quod est sursum, inde Barbatianus dictus est quia / fortis fuit ad gradiendum superius, id est ad supernam gloriam, / vel sic dictus a barba,

id est a virilitate et fortitudine, quia barba / signum <est> fortitudinis, et ipse fortis fuit contra vitia, vel dictus / est a bar quod est filius et beatitudo, ideo Barbatianus id est filius / beatitudinis." Uguccione da Pisa, "De dubio accentu, Agiographia, Expositio de sympolo Apostolorum," ed. Giuseppe Cremascoli (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1978), 147.

14. Maria Incoronata Colantuono, "Il Breviario pomposiano ms. Udine, Bibl. Arcivescovile, 79," in *Guido D'Arezzo*: *Monaco Pomposiano*, ed. Angelo Rusconi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), 187–8.
15. Giampaolo Ropa, "Cultura liturgica ravennate e pomposiano-ravennate nei secoli Xl e XII," in *La civiltà comacchiese e pomposiana dalle Origini preistoriche al Tardo Medlòevo*: *Atti del convegno naziònale di studi storici* (*Comacchio 17–19 maggio 1984*) (Bologna: 1986). See also Montanari, "Culto e liturgia a Ravenna dal IV al IX secolo," 275–6.
16. Leo F. Miller, "Missal W.11 of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore," *Traditio* 2 (1944). On the monastery of Saint Ambrose and its connections to Ravenna, see Anselm Strittmatter, "Notes on an Eleventh-Century Missal, Walters Manuscript 11," ibid. 6 (1948): 337–8.
17. For example, in his notes on his edition of the *Martyrologium* of Usuard, the eighteenth-century Bollandist Jean-Baptiste du Sollier identified the feast of Barbatianus on January 2 in three calendars: from the Benedictine abbey at Anchin (Aquicintum), Cluny and a Roman calendar. *PL* 123, 609C–610D. Other reference include Vat.lat. 5949, which posits the feast on December 29, and December 31 in Greven and Molanus. See *PL* 124, 860B–C.
18. New York, Morgan Library MS M.373. Morgan Library, "Curatorial Description of M. 373: Breviary for Ravenna Use, preceded by a Kalendar for the Carmelite Church of Santa Maria in Porto," http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0373a.pdf. The manuscript is also briefly described in John Plummer, *Liturgical manuscripts for the Mass and the Divine Office* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1964), 32.
19. Hieronymus Rubeus, *Historiarum Ravennatum* (Venice, 1572), 88–91; Girolamo Fabri, *Le sagre memorie di Ravenna antica* (Venice: Fracesco Valuasense, 1664), 206.
20. *Gallae Placidae Augustae Vita* 131–141 and 167–172, in Donnini, "Galla Placidia nelle fonti latine medievali, umanistiche e rinascimentali," 727.
21. Antonio Ivan Pini, *Città*, *chiesa e culti civici in Bologna medievale*, Biblioteca di storia urbana medievale 12 (Bologna: CLUEB, 1999), 95, 97. Fabri records the later translation of relics to this church, Fabri, *Le sagre memorie di Ravenna antica*, 195.
22. On the Bologna Popolo, see Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God*: *the religion of the Italian communes*, *1125–1325* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 128–36.

23. Graziella Sibra, "Lombardia Beni Culturali: Chiesa di S. Barbaziano," http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/architetture/schede/MI100-07356/.
24. The manuscript from San Fidele is now located in Firenze, Biblioteca Madicea Laureziana, Conv. soppr. 230; San Salvi in Firenze, Biblioteca Madicea Laureziana, Aed. 137, and San Bartolomeo in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatensis 718 (alias B. 1. 3). See Appendix 3.
25. See Schoolman, "Nobility, Aristocracy, and Status in Early Medieval Ravenna." The children of Tetgrimus and Ingelrada are named as those who had imprisoned archbishop Peter IV in the 960s.
26. Natale Rauty, "I Conti Guidi in Toscana," in *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo*: *Marchesi*, *conti e visconti nel regno italico* (*secc. IX–XII*) (Rome: Instituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1996); "Fonti documentarie e narrative per la storia dei conti Guidi in Toscana," in *La lunga storia di una stirpe comitale*, ed. Federico Canaccini (Florence: Olschki, 2009).
27. Rossana E. Guglielmetti, *I testi agiografici latini nei codici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (Florence: Sismel, 2007), 237–42.
28. Pierluigi Licciardello, "Il culto dei santi nei manoscritti medievali dell'abbazia di San Fedele di Strumi-Poppi," *Hagiographica* 18 (2011).
29. Guglielmetti, *I testi agiografici latini nei codici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, 85–93.
30. Documents 46 and 101 in Natale Rauty, *Documenti per la storia dei Conti Guidi in Toscana*: *Le origini e i primi secoli*, *887–1164* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003).
31. The *vita* would also have found a ready audience within the Vallombrosians, as they practiced strict asceticism and austerity relative to other nearby monastic houses.
32. Documents 4 and following, Rauty, *Documenti per la storia dei Conti Guidi in Toscana*: *Le origini e i primi secoli*, *887–1164.*
33. Although the Guidi are almost absent from Ravenna's local affairs by the end of the tenth century, they appear as supporters of Peter Damian and donors to his monastic projects. Peter Damian, *eps.* 17 and 63.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions

The relics of a long-forgotten saint may be discovered, translated to a place then imbued with cult status and transformed by being enshrined in a monument, reliquary or altar worthy of veneration, which amplifies the importance of the saint's remains and their role in the community. The same types of processes occur for the legends or the *vitae* of saints. Information about the life and miracles performed by a saint may be revealed, the location of deeds sanctified and the story of the life (recorded or composed sometimes immediately after death, although often centuries later) integrated into functional hagiographic collections such as liturgical calendars, lectionaries, passionaries or legendaries for annual celebration and commemoration, and featured in the dedication of churches, monasteries or shrines.

The lives and relics of saints, however, are seldom created, discovered or selected at random, but rather fashioned to suit the practical needs of bishops, monks, local communities and even kings; their cults, frequently centered on their tombs, are further formed by responding to local spiritual, social and political needs. The translation or theft of relics, and their frequent rediscovery and replenishment afterwards, or the embellishment of miracles within a *vita*, illustrates the plasticity of *souvenirs* (in both the contemporary sense and its meaning as remembrances) and stories connected to these saints. In addition, literary and physical remains offered focal points for communities of many sizes: for example, the relics and

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2_7

miracles of Martin of Tours were used to increase the status of his home city, but also through his promotion in hagiography, he was elevated to be one of the most important saints of the entire Frankish kingdom, while the remnants of Nicholas of Myra were kept by various Italians and Crusaders as trophies from their eastern ventures.[1] Beyond their relics, the *vitae* and the other hagiographic literature connected to their cults suggest the breadth and depth of this literary, rather than biographical or historical, genre.

Barbatianus, the saint at the center of this study, lacked relics with the potency of Martin or the wide dispersal of Nicholas, but instead represents another strand of hagiographic development. He was a saint with almost exclusively local status and cult veneration, one of the majority of saints who received relatively little attention outside of the region or even the small local area in which their relics and tombs were said to have produced miracles and were subsequently venerated. His relics were never known to produce miracles outside of limited mention in the *vita*, although they were valuable enough to be translated out of the church once dedicated to his name and into Ravenna's cathedral, where they would eventually be interred in a beautifully crafted late antique sarcophagus made from imported Proconnesian marble. Yet even here, they never became the locus of any significant or recorded cult activity.

On the other hand, his legend was rehabilitated and the fifth-century context of his life appropriated in a *vita* composed and reimagined in the second half of the tenth century. This life would be used in the creation of a useful late Roman past, one which highlighted his status as a monk and the role of the imperial household, and was included in the medieval mythology of Ravenna. As a text connected to Ravenna and its illustrious past, the *vita* was promulgated through the twelfth century by its inclusion in calendars of feasts, passionaries, legendaries and lectionaries of Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany, although the saint never experienced recognition beyond these regions. Nevertheless, the history of Barbatianus, including his relationship with Galla Placidia, whether historical or imagined, and the later reconstruction of his miracles and his life in the tenth century, illuminates the process by which a *vita* situated in the fifth century was developed and disseminated in the ninth through twelfth century.

The simple facts that the life of Barbatianus was written, and that his relics are recognized, are relevant as they coincide with great shifts in the political and social structure of Northern Italy: the arrival of new rules in the guise of the Ottonians in the tenth century; the growing power

of the papacy (which had grown to become the intermittent nemesis of Ravenna's episcopal-centered identity since Late Antiquity); reform movements within monasticism and in Ravenna specifically; and the formation of new hereditary and local elites throughout the region. The story of Barbatianus and his close connection to the Galla Placidia, a figure never forgotten by the historians and writers of the Middle Ages, would have been an enticing example to reinforce the importance of Ravenna as a site conferring legitimate rule, as much as his role as an early local monastic leader would have supported the legitimacy of the small monastery connected to his church in the tenth century.[2]

Ravenna had been a city that was critically important for the promotion of legitimate rule for the Ostrogoths, Byzantines and even the Lombards in Late Antiquity, and especially for the new medieval emperors, who recognized it as the former capital for both the late Roman and Germanic states. Charlemagne, while not visiting the city regularly on his campaigns and travels in Italy, "did not ignore the city, regarding it as a key source of architectural inspiration for his own building projects in Francia."[3] The ninth-century *LPR* of Agnellus, the institutional history of the activities of the bishops of the city, makes it clear that both Charlemagne and his Carolingian successors viewed the city as a relic of the late antique Roman Empire and Ostrogothic kingdom. In this guise, the city was worthy of supplying raw materials for imperial and religious projects in Gaul and as a repository for relics which could be acquired for important churches.

Although Agnellus may not have personally witnessed the theft of the relics of the early bishop Severus from Ravenna, legends written north of the Alps posit that they were eventually sold to Otgarius of Mainz and installed in that city's cathedral.[4] Otto the Great, representing a new Saxon royal line, had an even closer relationship to Ravenna, building a palace outside of the city near the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, and his successors eventually placed their own candidates as archbishops, including the polymath and future Pope Gerbert d'Aurillac, using the episcopal office as a springboard to the papacy.[5]

Barbatianus is not alone in his special relationship to Ravenna. With the city's status of capital at the beginning of the fifth century and its long struggle against Rome in claiming autonomy, a large number of saints appear who were specifically connected to Ravenna. While some are originally Milanese, they are wholly adopted as Ravennate (such as the martyr Vitalis, claimed as father to Milan's Protasius and Gervasius); however, the majority of local saints found in the hagiographic and liturgical tradi-

tions, or the focus of dedication of churches and chapels, were episcopal saints, including Apollinaris, Eleucadius, Probus, Severus as well as Peter Chrysologus, some of whom were also known regionally, and martyrs like the doctor Ursicinus.[6] Barbatianus does not fit within these common models, but rather represented a different path to sainthood as someone connected initially to a monastic foundation, whose commemoration and veneration remained limited in the city until the tenth century, allowing us to see the evolution of a minor local cult into one of some regional importance. His successor as non-episcopal local saint, the eremitic champion Romuald, was the subject a *vita* in the eleventh century that offered yet an additional form for the construction of hagiography in response to contemporary concerns.

The length of time it took the legend of Barbatianus, clearly known to the ninth-century Agnellus, to be transformed into the saint who appeared in the tenth-century *vita* preserved in medieval manuscripts was not unique. However, this fact separates Barbatianus from many of the other Ravennate saints, most of whom had clear late antique precedents (in the case of the martyrs adopted to rival Milan) or whose relics only became valuable in the tenth century to help insulate the growing power of the episcopal cult (such as some of the early bishops, like Probus). The delay between the rise in the importance of the cult of Barbatianus through the development of his legend and cult, and the final composition of his *vita*, may be connected in some part to the interest in controlling cults during the Carolingian age:

> local cults were brought under control of bishops who were themselves to be subject to metropolitan authority, as Charlemagne's capitularies make abundantly clear, discipline in the Church was a primary concern of Government. Charlemagne frowned upon the idea of new saints being created, and since at the same time he insisted on the use of relics, there was in consequence an explosion in the demand for relics from long-dead saints, preferably martyrs.[7]

Although there were likely some *vitae* from Ravenna which date from before the ninth century (though only the *inventio* of Apollinaris has internal evidence to suggest it dates from this period), and the *LPR* of Agnellus was mined for independent lives of the bishop Peter Chrysologus and Severus, during the period of the Carolingian and post-Carolingian Kingdom of Italy there was no dedicated written hagiographical output

from Ravenna.[8] Furthermore, because of Ravenna's stature as a formerly royal and imperial capital city, with a variety of claims for episcopal autocephaly now more important than ever, there was little need for the rehabilitation of saints like Barbatianus.

In the latter half of the tenth century, when the political unrest and rival claims over royal authority in Northern Italy were settled by the arrival of Otto I, many changes took place that brought Ravenna's saints back to the foreground both locally and regionally. These changes include a relatively regular presence of powerful royal figures in Italy and Ravenna; the adoption of monastic reforms; a greatly renewed interest in the location and translation of the city's native relics; and realignment of local aristocratic familial allegiances. The elements of monastic reform and proximity to the Imperial household (in the form of Galla Placidia), relics (Barbatianus's role in recovering the sandal of John the Evangelist) and the church of Ravenna (represented by Peter Chrysologus's role in the burial of the saint) would have had a powerful draw for the local Ravennate bishops, clergy and monks with thoughts of Otto and his family, as at its core, the life depicts the reliance of an empress, Galla Placidia, on this holy man and his intercessions on her behalf. In the new political and religious climate of the second half of the tenth century, the successful rehabilitation of Barbatianus through his *vita* created a meaningful past from which contemporary parallels could be drawn, especially important with respect to the role Ravenna would play as regional capital under this new imperial regime.

Although the exact purpose for which the *vita* of Barbatianus was composed can never be known, its goals of promoting imperial patronage while elevating the status of the local urban monastic communities would ultimately be left unfulfilled. However, the existence of the *vita* was not taken for granted, and it was used continuously for the next three centuries in various forms and guises: in the eleventh century, as the basis for a sermon by Peter Damian; appearing in liturgical manuscripts created in Ravenna and in its dependent institutions in the twelfth century; and as part of a history of the church of San Giovanni Evangelista in the thirteenth century. In these uses, it becomes fully integrated into the hagiographic landscape of Ravenna more so than most of the other tenth-century hagiography produced in the city.

Despite the fact that at some level, knowledge of Barbatianus survived as one of the many saints connected to Ravenna from the early Middle Ages on, the limitations of his cult are pronounced. The largest is that only

one church was dedicated to him in Ravenna, and even in this instance, it was co-dedicated to John the Baptist. The church was also home, at least by the 930s, to a monastic community that seems to disappear in the early eleventh century; it then loses the dedication to Barbatianus not long after the twelfth century, when his relics are translated to the cathedral.

Nor does his *vita* spread beyond the region, instead appearing only in hagiographic collections intended for liturgical use through the thirteenth century and within Northern Italy; after this point, the legend and *vita* only appeared in universalist collections, such as that of Jacobus de Voragine, and included as an epitome in the work of Pietro Calo and the later collections of Petrus de Natalibus. Despite these facts, the *vita* is an entry point which allows us to engage with the world of Late Antiquity as imagined by those in the tenth century; the ways in which the biographies of saints can be composed; the context of tenth-century Ravenna; and how hagiographic legends can be promulgated in medieval Italy to serve the needs of local communities and monastic institutions.

7.1 Creating Local Saints

The local nature of saints, their cults and their festivals is frequently an express feature of hagiography. For example, in much of his hagiographic writing, and especially in his discussions of saints in his seven books on miracles, in particular *Glory of the Martyrs*, *Life of the Fathers*, and *Glory of the Confessors*, Gregory of Tours illustrates the extremely local nature of shrines and relics and the venerative practices surrounding them. His martyrs, fixed in place by the sites of their tombs and relics, and his fathers, connected to specific locations through their positions as bishops, abbots and hermits (although also relics), operate at times on the smallest of scales.[9] One example from Gregory of an extremely localized cult practice of tenuous sanctity involves the case of the tomb outside of Lyon. The site held the body not of a saint but of an unnamed woman who had recovered a sandal from the martyr Epipodius; even that contact proved to be enough, as the dust from the lid of her tomb was said to have healing powers for those who ingested it.[10]

Local saints could also be unique in their characteristics, informed by the needs of their communities, their history, as well as the topographic and hagiographic landscape. These might vary from saints associated with specific industries, social classes or locations, but also include other non-traditional figures for veneration, such as the holy greyhound, St. Guinefort.[11]

Notable here is that local cults tended not to operate in direct opposition to those saints held in the greatest regard, who may have been the focus of universal cults such as those dedicated to the Virgin in various iterations, Angels, or of regional, apostolic or "national" cults like that of St. Martin in Gaul propagated by Sulpicius Severus and Gregory himself.[12] Instead, there was frequently symbiosis between the cults of various statures, and those of various qualities could be found together in a single location. A church could be dedicated to both a well-known saint and a local counterpart, as is the case with the church dedicated to Barbatianus and to John the Baptist in Ravenna; or the relics of local saints could be integrated into already established churches, a common occurrence during periods of intense relic translation.[13] Ultimately the overwhelming number of local saints with their own cults, whether they are established independently or as part of a preexisting foundation, made up a substantial portion of saints, cults and feasts.[14]

However, creating a local saint and building a cult were activities fraught with opportunities for failure: the local communities which supported them could decline or disappear; the political factions encouraging their veneration could fall out of power; the monasteries which supported them could reform their practices or adopt alternate sites and cults. Although the *vita* of Barbatianus spread into Tuscany and across Romagna, his cult does not seem to become established beyond the cities of Ravenna and Bologna as evidenced by the dedication of church, limited at least in some part by changes in the political situation of Ravenna, a rich variety of other local saints to venerate, and the reforms of the aristocratic families and local monastic institutions.

The efforts to establish a cult for Barbatianus were likely met with opposition as soon as his *vita* was promulgated, and point to the major difficulty in establishing a new saint, especially one whose relics seemingly have performed no miracles. An instructive parallel to consider from the same period would be that of Hunegund, the original founder of a female monastery in the area of Northern France known as Vermandois (now part of Picardy) in the town of Homblières in the seventh century, about whose origins and life almost nothing is known. Although there may have been some veneration of Hunegund at the monastery itself as the founder, she seems to have been of little interest to the local communities. However, in the wake of the reform of the monastery, and in an effort to tie it to the surrounding community in the middle of the tenth century, her biography was written.[15]

Her *vita*, composed by Berner, the first abbot of the reformed Homblières, was fashioned by building on legendary material which may have been known locally, following the propagation of her cult after the rediscovery of her relics and their translation in 946 (for which he composed a separate account) and the monastery's takeover by the Benedictine order and reinstitution as a house for men in 949.Within the account of the translation and the subsequent miracles, a unique tale is presented in the *vita*, in which the saint's displeasure at the local community for ignoring her feast was manifested through the appearance of blood from the grain the local farmers had been harvesting.[16] It offers a warning on the nature of local saints when there was little knowledge of their cults, and in addition, illustrates the tools used by leaders (in this case, abbot Berner) to encourage their veneration. Berner relates that following the miracle, which took place in 964, the local farmers themselves took to spreading the cult and raised the profile of the saint and the monastery by reiterating the miracle that occurred in the hinterlands of the monastery's holdings.

The lesson about how to encourage the veneration of an oft-ignored saint offered by Berner is clear. In order to raise the profile of the saint (in this case Hunegund, whose festival was ignored), the very livelihood of the community, the harvested grain, was miraculously despoiled by blood. According to Berner, this became the impetus for the regional farmers and the local clergy to propagate the importance of the festival through a network of "spreading the news." Although the narrative relies on a miraculous event to bring the local communities into the practice of celebrating Hunegund's feast, after its establishment, it is by the local farmers that the legend was spread through the feast of Hunegund and her veneration, which bound them to the monastery.

Like the relationship between Barbatianus and Ravenna at the core of this study, the *miracula* of Hunegund were generated with a specific purpose in mind for a specific local community of belief (or at times, disbelief). Berner sought to encourage the veneration of the cult and the practice of the feast of Hunegund, as the monastery and its religious community began to expand its physical holdings and reinforce its role in the region. Unlike Barbatianus, however, for whom the *vita* was composed without generating significant interest in his relics, the miracle of Hunegund acted to bind the community to the relics and cult of the saint, which were under the control of the monastery and the powerful bishop in Noyon.[17]

While tenth-century narratives like that of Hunegund were meant to guide local venerative practice toward a local institution, other changes

in Italy saw an increase in saints associated with specific cities. This phenomenon would grow tremendously in the eleventh century in response to the growing independence of communes and other forms of local civic governance, often as a means to create a unifying figure and urban identity through a city's patron saint. It is in the eleventh century that Mark becomes the public emblem of Venice, while in Milan, the bishop Ambrose was restored to prominence as the city's defense and in Verona, the cult of Zeno continued to operate as part of the center of the city's episcopal power.[18] In Ravenna, the role of patron saint ultimately fell to Apollinaris, with his two great late antique basilicas and his apostolic connection as a follower of Peter, whose relics formed the core of the episcopal cult in the city.

The local nature of Barbatianus, in the mythology of his legend, in the creation of the *vita* and in its subsequent promulgation in hagiographic collections, remains a crucial component in understanding the history of the saint himself and ultimately the limitations of his cult. The saint's connection to Ravenna and its history (especially his connection to Galla Placidia) and the mostly unremarkable collection of miracles included in his *vita* may have limited the interest in Barbatianus and his texts, but its position in the latter half of the tenth century illuminates the local conditions for various aspects of Ravenna's cultural and political history.

7.2 Barbatianus as Survivor

In both the tenth and the eleventh centuries, hagiographers seeking to lay claim to new modes of behavior, new institutions and new communities began to create saints responsive to these factors. For example, in the early tenth century, Gerald of Aurillac was promoted by Odo of Cluny as a model for lay attitudes to monasticism and for his rejection of violence.[19] In central Italy more than a century later, the followers of Dominic of Sora and his brand of enthusiastic monasticism wrote *vitae* and other texts emphasizing his priesthood as much as they celebrated his miracles and his foundations of monasteries as demonstrated by John Howe.[20] Even the *vita* of Romuald written by Peter Damian directly reacted to, and was influenced by reforms within the monastic community as well as other local concerns.[21]

Although written for different types of men and under different types of circumstances, the histories of the sanctification of Gerald, Dominic and Romuald present similar trajectories in that the saints were all con-

temporaries or near-contemporaries of the men who would construct their hagiographies and write at least the first iterations of their *vitae*. In fact, the high Middle Ages would be an age of contemporary saints, whose *vitae* would be written soon after their deaths by their followers and successors as a means to build institutional claims to spiritual and charismatic authority wielded by the deceased, especially after the process was centralized by papal claims to the "monopoly of canonization."[22] This was quite distinct from the development of the hagiography of Barbatianus, as the "real" Barbatianus was at best a historical kernel of a fictional character whose actual identity was long lost to the author of his *vita* in the tenth century.

In other ways, many aspects of the tenth-century context of the writing of the *vita* of Barbatianus were shared with these other figures of "contemporary saints," and in some respects, they are remarkably similar. All were in some form monks with monastic biographers, contending with issues that were incredibly localized. This is perhaps why their cults all shared a common fate of some degree of decline after their *vitae* were promulgated. The potency of the memory of Gerald of Aurillac in his own monastery helped his legend remain relevant the longest at the center of a community, but his decline would be tied to the diminished reputation of his monastery at the end of the Middle Ages, and "rival saints bested Gerald in the new areas of saintly competition."[23] The decline of the legend of Romuald may also have been slowed by the long-standing survival of the monasteries and hermitages he established, although many would fall to the pressures of further reforms and other orders. The monastic empire established by Dominic of Sora and celebrated in his *vitae* would fracture after his death, and the "monasteries and churches connected with him, even those given over to the megamonasteries, began a sleepy, inexorable decline."[24]

The decline of the legend of Barbatianus was not as likely as fast as or as total as that of Dominic of Sora; in the middle of the eleventh century, while the political atmosphere in Ravenna had changed dramatically and the small monastery connected to the saint fell under the control first of the archbishop, and later became one of the many holdings of the powerful monastery of Pomposa, by this point, the saint had already become part of the hagiographic landscape. However, Barbatianus did lose out to more potent saintly "rivals." Although Peter Damian was responsible for allowing the legend of the saint to survive in the form of a sermon, he did so by transforming the source of Barbatianus's sanctity and diminish-

ing the legend of Barbatianus by limiting his function as a monastic figure. Furthermore, the "rival" Peter Damian created was none other than Romuald, the one-time abbot of Sant'Apollinare in Classe and founder of the Camaldolensian order, in the form of the *Vita Romualdi*. Although Barbatianus would never rise to the status of Gerald, Dominic or Romuald as leaders of communities with *vitae* composed by contemporaries, his legend promoted in the tenth century would reverberate through the end of the Middle Ages.

While the *Vita Barbatiani* never succeeded in establishing the saintly healer and imperial confessor as a leading saint in Ravenna, within the hagiographic landscape of Ravenna, Barbatianus was at the very least a survivor. This survival was made possible by the contents of his life and the context of its creation: the appropriations of the past in the *vita* of Barbatianus; the fifth-century context of imperial Ravenna; Sophronius's *miracula* of the wonderworking relics of Cyrus and John; and even an image of an empress performing proskynesis before a saint (in his creation of the miracle of the sandal of John the Evangelist) were combined to create a text which would offer a valuable past to the citizens of tenth-century Ravenna. In this way, it became one of the last fruits of the efforts in the final decades of the tenth century to make useful the city's imperial past, as neither the archbishops, local nobles nor Ottonian emperor sponsored new churches or left major monuments.

Yet his survival stands in contrast to the other hagiographic output of this period, as the *vita* of Barbatianus and the saint's cult proved to be the most resilient, as evidenced by the eleventh-century sermon of Peter Damian and the wide-ranging manuscripts produced in Tuscany, Romagna and along the Northern Adriatic which include the *vita*. The relics of Barbatianus themselves were valued and would be translated a number of times, and finally into Ravenna's cathedral.

While the appropriation of the imperial past may not have created a cult worthy of tenth-century imperial patronage or universal veneration, it did offer one that became regionally and locally valuable as a means to revisit and celebrate Ravenna's past as a late antique capital. Even today, in the southern transept of the cathedral in Ravenna, the final appropriation executed to promote the saint is on clear display: a late antique figural sarcophagus of local Ravennate production which holds the alleged relics of the saint. In many respects, it is a fitting vessel for Barbatianus, whose cult was built in the tenth century by appropriating the very same past in which the tomb was crafted.

Notes

1. On the earlier use of Martin, see Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, 13–28. On the cultural functions of St. Martin's relics in the high Middle Ages, see Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). On the sense of Martin as a patron to a nation, see Olivier Guillot, "Les saints des peuples et des nations dans l'Occident des VIe—Xe siècles: un aperçu d'ensemble illustré par le cas des Francs en Gaule," in *Santi e demoni nell' Alto Medioevo occidentale, secoli V–XI* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1989); Alan Thacker, "*Pecularius patronus noster*: The saint as patron of the state in the early Middle Ages," in *The Medieval State: Essays presented to James Campbell*, ed. John R. Maddicott and David M. Palliser (London: Hambledon Press, 2000). On Nicholas, Charles W. Jones, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan: Biography of a Legend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).
2. On the medieval afterlife of Galla Placidia, see Donnini, "Galla Placidia nelle fonti latine medievali, umanistiche e rinascimentali."
3. Neil Christie, "Charlemagne and the Renewal of Rome," in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 177.
4. Due to their predation of the church, Agnellus has a highly negative view of the Franks. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 289. On the theft of Severus's relics, see Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 48.
5. According to the descriptions from his charters, in the spring of 967, Otto and his court spent a number of weeks "in the former city of Classe, within the imperial quarters … next to the monastery of Saint Severus," (*Infra civ(itatem) dudum Classis, infra mansionem domnicat(am) … prope S(an)c(t)um Severus*), Cart. Rav. X.II, no. 128. The site of San Severo in Classe, long abandoned, has recently been excavated, uncovering a large cloister which would have been functional during the tenth century: Andrea Augenti et al., "Il monastero di San Severo a Classe: risultati delle campagne di scavo 2006–2011," in *Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, L'Aquila, 12–15 settembre 2012, vol. 6* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2012).
6. Carlà, "Milan, Ravenna, Rome: Some Reflections on the Cult of the Saints and on Civic Politics in Late Antique Italy." On the cult of bishops in Ravenna, see Jean-Charles Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques: Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1988), 109–94. Many of these episcopal

saints only are provided with unique *vitae* in the tenth century; they are considered relative to that of Barbatianus in Chap. 4.

7. Paul Fouracre, "The origins of the Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints," in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Anthony Hayward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 145.
8. On the derivation of the *vitae* of Peter Chrysologus and Severus from the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna, see Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*. Even in the region, broadly speaking, there was little in the way of hagiographic production between the sixth and the tenth centuries. The one exception would be that of Cassianus of Imola, a martyr whose *vita* was composed between the fifth and eighth centuries. Cécile Lanéry, "Hagiographie d'Italie (300–550): I. Les Passions latines composées en Italie," in *Hagiographies V*, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 321.
9. The rise of local cults, and the promotion first of martyrs and later of confessors and fathers, became important in fixing new types of geographic identities, as "[l]ocal patriotism and the urge to substitute a positive Christian status for an increasingly doubtful secular standing combined with real Christian piety to promote saints and, with them, the cities with which they were most closely identified." Jill Harries, "Christianity and the city in Late Roman Gaul," in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. John Rich (London: Routledge, 1992), 78.
10. Gregory of Tours, *Liber de Gloria confessorum* 63.
11. Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
12. On the regional and national saints, see Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*, 224–33.
13. While "universal saints" offered powerful spiritual patronage and connections to central figures in Christian religion, they were shared and remote in comparison to local saints who were actors in a known and familiar landscape, and whose relics were frequently available. Catherine Cubitt, "Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 448–9.
14. This is true for Italy as well as Gaul, where "however many dedications there were to the greatest of saints, to the Virgin and Peter, it was the local saints who provided the backbone of those celebrated in the churches of Clermont." Ian Wood, "Constructing Cults in Early Medieval France:

Local Saints and Churches in Burgundy and the Auvergne 400–1000," ibid., 179.

15. On the early history of the monastery, see Theodore Evergates, Giles Constable and William Mendel Newman, *The Cartulary and Charters of Notre-Dame of Homblières* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1990), 2–3. On the cult of Hunegund and the generation of hagiography, see Pierre Heliot, "L'abbaye d'Homblières et la châsse de sainte Hunégonde aux X^{e} et XI^{e} siècles," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 119 (1961). On the reform of the monastery under Abbot Berner in the mid-tenth century and the production of the hagiographic texts relating to Hundegund and her relics, see Fraser McNair, "A saint, an abbot, his documents and her property: power, reform and landholding in the monastery of Homblières under Abbot Berner (949–982)," *Journal of Medieval History* 41 (2015). A debt of gratitude is owed to William North, who pointed me in the direction of St. Hunegund and the final miracles of her relic translation as an example of local saints and the efforts to impose their cults.
16. Berner of Homblière, *De translatione corporis S. Hunegundis apud Viromanduos*, PL 137, 70B–72B.14.
17. As to the vitality of the relics, "[a]lthough the abbey seems to have remained economically viable until 1372, it probably suffered damage during the later stages of the Hundred Years War, for the relics of Saint Hunegund were sent for safety to Saint-Quentin where they were later viewed by King Louis XI. With the Concordat of 1516 Homblières passed under royal control." Evergates, Constable, and Newman, *The Cartulary and Charters of Notre-Dame of Homblières*, 16.
18. See Hans Conrad Peyer, *Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterlichen Italien* (Zurich: Europa, 1955); Paolo Golinelli, Paolo, *Culto dei santi e vita cittadina a Reggio Emilia*: *secoli IX–XII* (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1980); Maureen Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church*: *Ecclesiastical Change in Verona*, *950–1150* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993). The process was widespread throughout Europe, where both long-standing cults and new saints were tasked as civic patrons in the development of more permanent symbols of local identity.
19. Mathew Kuefler, *The Making and Unmaking of a Saint*: *Hagiography and Memory in the Cult of Gerald of Aurillac* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 50–54.
20. John Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy*: *Dominic of Sora and his Patrons* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).
21. In some respects, the *vita* may also consciously fashion parallels between Romuald and idealized forms of eremitic monasticism of the desert fathers.

Emily A. Bannister, "'From Nitria to Sitria': the construction of Peter Damian's *Vita Beati Romualdi*," *European Review of History* 18 (2011); John Howe, "The Awesome Hermit: The Symbolic Significance of the Hermit as a Possible Research Perspective," *Numen* 30 (1983).

22. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*, 57–64. In respect to issues of contemporary saints in the later Middle Ages, see also André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981); *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
23. Kuefler, *The Making and Unmaking of a Saint: Hagiography and Memory in the Cult of Gerald of Aurillac*, 188.
24. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and his Patrons*, 150.

Appendix 1: Translation of the *Vita Barbatiani*

This translation is based predominantly on the 1909 edition of Lanzoni; however, a few alternative readings from the manuscripts have been used and sections have been renumbered.

Here begin the deeds of St. Barbatianus, the Presbyter and Confessor[1]

1. I think it only proper, as I embark upon this story of miracles, first to explain in which localities of the imperial cities the wonderful struggle of the saints took place. That way, the miracles which occupy the beginning of the narrative might inspire faith in what will be related subsequently, because a great people and a great and mighty city proclaim that they truly happened. Now, when Zosimus, Pope of the city of Rome, had by God's will ceased to hold the episcopate [upon his death], there was conflict among the clergy over the apostolic see, and they chose two bishops, one named Boniface and the other Eulalius.[2] They ordained Boniface in the basilica of Constantine. The empress Galla Placidia with her son, the emperor Valentinian, hearing this while they were staying in Ravenna, brought the news to the emperor Honorius who had remained in Milan. The two emperors sent a warrant ordering that both men should leave the city, so that both (popes) left the city of Rome. After they had been expelled, the holy day of Easter approached. Then Eulalius with daring boldness came into the city

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy,*
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2

of Rome, and baptized and he celebrated Easter in the basilica of Constantine. Upon hearing this, the emperors cast out and turned Eulalius away from the city of Rome and sent him to Campania, and there he finished out his life. They recalled Boniface and then invested him as Pope.

2. At this time, the empress Galla Placidia together with the emperors Honorius and Valentinian came to Rome before the doorway to the church of the Holy Apostles, where they presented many gifts. Then news spread to them that two men had arrived in Rome from Antioch, one by the name of Timothy and the other named Barbatianus, performing as presbyters with honor, God-fearing, workers of wonders, Furthermore, they were healing the sick through their holy prayers, and for this reason were surrounded by all types of men. When they were summoned by the empress, at which point, the most holy presbyter Timothy had already departed to the Lord before the fourth day after the request. His body, rendered sweet with incense, was then buried by a certain noble widowed woman, and carefully entombed with great praise and honor, as would be fitting for saints on the Vatican Hill, which is called *Aureus*. At his tomb, the men who were ill were saved and demons were driven away. And at that place every day, many marvels were performed for the praise and honor of our Lord Jesus Christ.
3. Barbatianus, the most holy presbyter and confessor of Christ, came to the cemetery of Callixtus and there he stayed hidden. The empress, having sought out the holy man, seeing as he did not want to reveal himself to the princes, they found him hiding secretly in his cell, and they led him before the empress with great honor. After she had seen him, she gave thanks to God, because she had been allowed to find him. Then the most holy man Barbatianus offered to her this acclamation: "Peace to you, Empress Galla Placidia, handmaiden of Christ, and victory for you son the emperor." And after all those there responded "amen," the glorious emperors addressed him in turn, and when they asked him from which land he had come to Rome, and the same confessor of Christ stated that had come from Antioch with the most holy man Timothy.
4. And after offering a prayer, the empress asked him to aid with his support for her handmaiden, who was afflicted with an incapacitat-

ing ailment of the eyes. She did this not so much for the reason stated, however, but rather to test his growing reputation. But he said nothing other than "let Him do what is good in her eyes". After he had left her and returned to his cell, prostrating himself in prayer, he beseeched the Lord. And lifting himself up, he gave to the girl his face-towel, which he had moisten with water, so that she might wipe her eyes. As soon as she had followed his command and wiped her eyes dry, all the bloody swelling and blindess disappeared as everyone present looked on. And immediately she was made healthy, so that it was as if she had never had afflictions of her eyes, and continually with hymns and praises she did not cease from giving thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ. But let us discuss other marvels that this most holy man performed in order to illuminate the hearts of all the faithful.

5. There was a man named Gallogenis, a Greek by birth, who upon the command of the emperor Valentinian quickly descended a ladder, and catching his feet, he fell from there to the ground. With his foot crushed, he was in peril, and his feet, shins and bones were shattered. After he had looked for the help of doctors to improve his ailments, and after his own feet and, gradually, the bones of his shins had wasted away little by little with his flesh liquefied with puss flowed; having been carried he appealed to the most holy man Barbatianus, praying that he might discover a cure for this. After consideration, the most holy confessor of Christ examined him, gazing up to the heavens and prostrating himself, he prayed with tears to the Lord. And after he lifted himself up from praying, he ordered that the crippled man be brought to him, and offering a prayer upon him and making the sign of the holy cross, the injured bones which had broken to pieces were restored and "he was healed at the same hour" (Matt. 8:13).
6. After this miraculous cure of illness had been accomplished, there was a man named Isidore, who had suffered violently on account of his lungs. No doctor had been able to provide him with a cure for his illness, but every effort made turned out to be adverse to his health, and after that he suffering from putrefaction, gradually expelling what had loosened in phlegm and blood. Thanks to this he was expecting the end of his life to come. And then in this state Isidore looking over himself and realizing that there was no

remaining hope of health for him from [the cures of] men, he went to the blessed Barbatianus in the morning silence, so that he might receive a blessing from his hand, and might find a cure for his health. When the most holy man had examined him, and heard about the sickness that the ill man described, tears coming down his face, and kneeling on the ground, he begged for assistance from the Lord, so that the ill man might return to his former state of health. As he lifted up from his prayer, he offered to him a small piece of citron.[3] The sick man gratefully accepted it from him and ate it willingly. After he finished the very last piece of the citron, and as he was chewing, he immediately became nauseous and dizzy, and he threw up with the food a worm which had been eating his lung and organs. After he vomited it out, his illness altogether left him and at once he regained the strength of his health.

7. After the miraculous healing of Isidore, let us mention publicly the sickness of Minas, so that hearing it with your ears you might glorify our Lord Jesus Christ through praise and hymns. This Minas, whom we have mentioned, was gravely sick with a case of a severe fever that violently and rapidly came upon him. And it nearly destroyed all the fluids in his entire body that it led to a blockage and to desiccation.[4] To combat the desiccation of his stomach, the medical students were offering cures and foods which loosened his stomach, but he got worse and these things sickened him seriously. After two weeks of enduring this danger and being unable to bear it further, he sought out the most holy man Barbatianus in the cell where he stayed, putting his life and death into the saint's hands. And when he came, it was not by foot nor by litter in which the sick are carrried, nor was he able to sit nor walk, but lying down on a couch he was carried by 16 men in shifts.[5] When they came to that most holy man Barbatianus, those who had carried him prostrating themselves on the ground praying asking him to make him well. As soon as he saw the sick man, he felt pity on him and raising his eyes to heaven, he prayed all day; and after the prayer was finished, raising up a dried Carian fig, he made the sign of the holy cross above it and offered to the sick man so that he might eat it.[6] As soon as the sick man had accepted it with great joy and had eaten it, he returned to his previous state of well-being and acquired perfect health. And as a faithful herald, he was sent

away from that place greatly praising the grace of that most holy man, and taking up on his shoulders the couch on which he had arrived being carried up, he left. And in this was he was imitating that very deed in which a man lay listless by the pool called Probatica, to whom Christ saved after 38 years and said: "Rise up from your bed and walk!"[7] In that man, he revealed the indescribable power and miraculous healing that he was accomplishing.

8. At that same time, there was a man named Geddeus, who had a fistula in his groin. He draws us to the consideration of this spectacle. And he had pain caused by the disease of the fistula, which he had in his groin; from this reason he continually endured its scourging, the fluids flowing out by the jugful at that same place it accumulated from his entire body. Deeply desiring to be made free of this torment, he often hung about the doctors' court, hounding them and regularly coming to those who were said to have helped many. For a long time, he had endured every attempt, and spending all he had, he was still not being freed from his fistula, he came to the most holy man Barbatianus in the night, not having a doctor who had provided a cure for him, nor having gold or silver. So he came to this very man who not being needy in respect to payment, but rather he nurtures the weak and supplies help to the sick. Once he had arrived, he showed his wound to the most holy father. Barbatianus prostrated himself in prayer, and entreated the Lord. Rising up from his prayer, he extended to him by his hand a prepared poultice in which to fill up the wound, which the sick man took in order to eradicate the fistula. After it was placed on top, the fistula dried up and the cavity was immediately filled in, and to the honor and praise of the holy confessor of Christ, he was made healthy.
9. But let me mention aloud yet more miracles that were performed by Barbatianus, the most holy confessor of Christ the Lord, and his method of divine medicine and grace of virtue, which was conceded to him by God, offering praise, we will touch upon the bandy-legged Minax, with a miracle fashioned by the celebrated Barbatianus. This Minax was fleet of foot, like a goat in a field, on par with Asahel described in the Holy Scripture, who for the speed of his feet was admirable in the Scriptures.[8] While he being supremely quick would make use of his speed, during the course of

a long illness he was turned bowlegged from being swift-footed. And after a length of time when he finally emerged from his illness, he did not escape its effects, but he remained immobile on a couch and was not able to stand on account of his disease. Although the doctors had even cured his enduring illness, nevertheless they despaired for the ailment which had proceeded from that disease. In dreams, a vision appeared to him of the holy man Barbatianus, freeing him with his prayers. And waking up immediately, he was carried to that man's cell by the feet of others during the night. Since that man had gone forth with faith, the confessor of Christ upon seeing him prayed to the Lord and he drove off that weakness and he recovered his former speed in our Lord Jesus Christ.

10. After this miracle, let the curing of Theodorus proceed next aloud, that very Theodorus who was afflicted with blindness of the eyes of his body. For indeed Theodorus suffered from them, and he did not find sufficient care, as in both his eyes there were dark blemishes. After he had gone to the doctors, and when he had learned that his condition was incurable, he ordered that he be carried to holy Barbatianus the one hope left to him, and quoted this expression of belief: "if I will be able to be brought together before him, I will become well."[9] But when he had hurried to cell, he asked the most holy man to be allowed to say for several days in his cell with him. The most holy father did not want to refuse him, and ultimately the sick man tarried there for just a brief spell before he attained his reward. After a while Barbatianus the most holy confessor of Christ told him to go out to a spring to fetch water in a jug. He responded to him: "Since I am blind and I cannot see, how will I be able to fetch water for you?" The blessed Barbatianus responded to him: "Go anyway." Once he had set out, nevertheless he could still not see where he was going. The most holy confessor of Christ prostrated himself in prayer, pleading to God on behalf of that man, so that he might again receive light in his eyes. But by means of his mercy, which inspired that man to approach him and taught where to go, the man brought to him the jug filled with water. Barbatianus blessed it, and giving to him the jug, he ordered him to wash his face, and once he had washed, immediately (the illness, like) so many fish scales, fell away from his eyes. And he raised up a great shout with tears, giving thanks to God, who through the prayer of the most holy man he was brought to

sight. And this miracle was reported in every region of the city of Rome to the honor of our Lord Jesus Christ of whom it is honor and the glory for all the age of ages. Amen.

11. At this time, the empress Placidia and her son the emperor Valentinian returned to Ravenna; they brought with great honor the most saintly presbyter Barbatianus with them. The emperor Honorius returned to Milan. Once they had gone into the palace in the city of Ravenna, she immediately told that venerable man about her clinic.[10] In this place, that servant of God built from the foundations a monastery and dedicated it in honor of the blessed John the Baptist, and in which he secured a monastic rule, and he never ceased fasting and prayers, serving the Lord day and night. After these things were done, there was a man named Julianus, born from noble stock, who having heard that the most holy man was offering blessings to individuals, he went carrying offerings to arrange that ceremonies of the mass could be performed in order to heal the man's son through his prayers; because scrofula had enveloped his neck and having streached his skin, he did not have enough strength to raise his neck to such a degree that ulcers appeared on the outside, and festering pus leaked out. After the end of the solemn masses, the father made his prayer, and prostrated himself at the feet of the most holy man Barbatianus, and with tears he began to ask him to provide a cure for his son's health because not one of the medical skills of others had prevailed to free him from the illness. At this point, the most blessed man raised his eyes to heaven and after offering a prayer, he went into his cell, and selecting a bandage smeared with wax and pieces of bread mixed with oil in his hand, ordered this man's son to be brought forth. And making the sign of the cross above the bandage, he placed it on top of the very hard wound, and instantly there was clattering and in the presence of all standing there, as out of the afflicted area more than 67 dead worms appeared as reckoned by those counting them. And all of those were collected together by his father and put up for display for many days, revealing to all for the benefit of belief, because this was done by the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the miracles were performed through that most holy man.
12. At the same time, when with divine guidance the empress Galla Placidia had built a church to saint John the Evangelist, Christ's

beloved disciple, the empress together with her son came into great consternation because of the fact that no relics of that apostle's body had been uncovered. Then with the most holy confessor of Christ Barbatianus being summoned, a plan was formed to use vigils and prayers to the Lord in order to reveal where the holy relics of the holy disciple of Christ might be acquired. This accomplished, though continuous night vigils they scarcely ceased beseeching the Lord. After the prayer had been given, they left to rest for a little while, and then just as if deep sleep fell upon the most holy confessor of Christ, although neither sleeping soundly nor entirely awake, he saw a man in wondrous garments with an angelic expression walking toward him, and a censer filled with incense being swung in his hand for the Lord, and rousing himself, he considered the vision he saw. With open eyes, he was clearly familiar with him, and he proceeded silently to where the Empress was sleeping and he gently touched her so that she might wake up. After she had awoken, with his finger the same most holy Barbatianus had pointed out the empress the man he saw, and she herself was engulfed by her spirit in the Lord. She stood up from the spot in which she lay, and hastening with great joy, she wished to hold him, prostrating herself at his feet. Right before her eyes he was quickly carried off, but his sandal, which had been on his right foot, remained in her hands. As she considered it to be a miraculous mystery, the empress, with great joy raised her voice, praising the Lord Jesus, who performs miracles through his holy apostle. From this point, the empress was full of excessive joy and her son, together with all those who had heard, remained in the city of Ravenna that was beloved by God. And after this mysterious sacrament, that very church was consecrated in praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, in honor of the most blessed evangelist John. The most holy Barbatianus became even more venerated by all men. And all the things which had been done by that confessor of Christ, the miracles were described to everyone by the very Empress herself. As for the venerable man himself, he then returned to his cell.

13. After a short while, when the servant of God was living in his monastery, there was a certain noble woman named Theodora living in the same city of Ravenna who, becoming incredibly sick, fell into great weakness having a flux of blood, for which none of the doctors or any single man could fashion cures for her that were of any

help; in fact each one of them had proved to be so bad for her that she did not have the health to lift herself up or to walk. When she heard about those miracles of the most holy man Barbatianus, that many had been healed by him, she put her confidence in the Lord, and said to herself: "what should I do? I believe in the God almighty, if I will go up before him, I will be saved."[11] So she called to her relatives to bring her to the door of the monastic cell of the blessed Barbatianus. While they were setting out by night, the arrival of the sick woman became known to the most blessed man Barbatianus and he raised himself from prayer, going to the door of the monastery with some of the servants of that venerable place. And when he had caught sight of her, offering up a prayer, he said to the woman: "our Lord Jesus Christ, who brought health to the woman Veronica, and saved her from the bloody flux, in his name and in faith of him I say to you 'rise and go to your home.'"[12] Then immediately in her ears there was a loud noise, she was made healthy and she departed for her home in the greatest health, just as if she had never had a malady, and praising the Lord, who had performed the miracle through this most holy man.

14. When the crowds heard this, they developed great wonder for the servant of God. So from that very day, Theodora would regularly come with offerings, imploring him to celebrate holy mass for her, and begging for the benediction of that most holy man. And when she had continued for some time to perform that worthy work, her husband, named Ursicius, a violent and spiteful man urged on by a demonic spirit, was carried away by jealousy for his wife, this very woman. And in the early morning hours when Barbatianus went from the church of the blessed John the Baptist, and distributed alms that had been given by the empress to the poor, and just a short time later he came to a bridge over the river, where the wicked man stood nearby next to the wall of a house, hiding behind a stone column so that he could stab the holy man with an unsheathed blade when he passed. But as soon as he lifted his hand, he could neither strike nor drop the blade, but his arm withered and he held still his stiff hand, and his mind was changed. This most blessed man passed by carrying out his duties just as when he had set out. In the morning at the break of dawn, the crowds coming discovered that man standing still, and just as mute, and his arm held stiff, and in his hand a blade. All the people were amazed,

and no one realized what had happened to him. After the third hour of the day had passed, and the servant of Christ God was returning to his church, he had become aware of what had occurred, and raising his eyes filled with tears up to heaven, he groaned, and offering a prayer, and immediately the man returned to his original state and his speech was restored, and straight away he fell at the feet of the most holy man Barbatianus, begging him to forgive this sin. The holy man offered him a benediction, and proceeded to his cell. This very Ursicius revealed everything about the evil deed that he planned, and the whole crowd gave thanks to God, who accomplished such miracles for a servant of God. This news came to the palace, and was announced before the empress Galla Placidia, and her son the emperor Valentinian, who also gave thanks to God. After that very day, he no longer strayed from the cell of his monastery, but in his holy monastery he remained in vigils and with little held back, he gave thanks to God through prayers, and many people who secretly came to him received benefits and the gift of health. At this time, the empress desired to have his benediction, and every day she partook of the blessing through the holiness of that man.

15. And while the empress was building a church to blessed Stephan the protomartyr within the bulwarks behind the walls of the city of Rimini, she remained there with her son the emperor there to supply the church; at that time the most holy man and confessor of Christ, who had been watchful throughout the night and during this vigil, had become ill. As the end of his life approached, by the command of the omnipotent Lord God, word was brought to the most holy bishop of Ravenna, father Peter "Librificus," when he was himself in his vigil in the holy church that Barbatianus, that the most holy confessor of Christ was going to the Lord. With all speed he sent a message to the Empress so that he might inform her of the man's death. Moving quickly with her son, the empress came and entered the cell in which the servant of God and the confessor of Christ lay. Truly the holy man then looked at them, offering a prayer and benediction for them and for all those who believe in the Lord, as he had been able, and just after he exhaled three last times he left for the Lord. That most holy bishop, father Peter, washed (Barbatianus's) body and embalmed it with the greatest care with spices from the furthest lands, following the

ancient custom by which the saints were embalmed, together with the empress Galla Placida and her son the emperor Valentinian. They interred him in the best location in a new tomb, in a wonderful marble stone vessel that he had recently commanded to be engraved, next to the altar of the most blessed John the Baptist. They interred him on the day following the Kalends of January (January 2), and where many of the noble and lowly came, and many sick obtained health by his sacred prayers.[13] That handmaid of God, the empress Galla Placidia, together with her son the emperor, returned to the work of building up the holy church, which they had sword to God they would fulfill for the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, who rules with God the Father in heaven in oneness with the Holy Spirit, and forever, and through every age of the ages. Amen.

Appendix 2: Translation of Peter Damian's *On the Feast of St. Barbatianus*

This translation is based on the edition of Giovanni Lucchesi.

1. Dearest brothers, we have recently celebrated the indescribable birth of our savior; now, as we double our joy upon this solemn occasion, we honor the venerable assumption of his most blessed priest. In that feast, our Savior, with the appearance of his majesty obscured, descended to earth; in this one, his most glorious servant, with the corruptible weight of his flesh cast aside, he ascended to heaven. In that feast, God's only begotten Son received the form of our humanness for our salvation; in this one, his blessed confessor came to the presence of angelic beatitude through a happy death. On that solemn day, our Redeemer, covered in a trophy of flesh, came ready to do fight against and the forces waging war on the world. On this day, his eminent soldier, after his princely triumph over the earth, arrived victorious into the celestial palace. Therefore, just as God descended so that man could ascend, in the same way, he deemed it worthy to come down so that he might raise man up.

 Upon the Lord's nativity, an angelic voice resounded: "Glory to God in the highest place, and on the earth peace for those men of good well."[14] Today, with his love, the sweet voice of divine majesty proclaims: "Well done, good and faithful servant, because you have been faithful concerning a few things, I will place you above many things."[15] In that feast, the Lord emerged from the womb of the Virgin, while in this feast, his venerable servant escaped from the

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2

prison of the flesh. In that one, Christ was swaddled on our behalf, while in this one, his priest was clothed with a stole of immortality. Christ did not refuse to go through the narrows of the womb, so that the expanse of heaven could receive the saint's soul. Clothed by flesh, Christ descended so that the other might ascend, wrapped in the cloak of his glory.

2. Consider, beloved brothers, what sort he man he was, who well and truly made himself a dwelling of the Holy Spirit, and who shined in the church's peace with a number of miracles. In the beginning of the church, they who were not worthy made miracles, and excelled not by the virtue of their morals, but through the signs. For which reason, this truth is spoken "many will say to me on that day: 'Lord Lord, did we not prophesy in your name? Did we not perform many miracles in your name?' and then I will reveal to them: Because I never knew you, depart from me, evildoers!"[16] Just as the holy church thrived in faith and was nurtured though miracles, so we, when we plant an orchard, we provide it water until we see that it has become strong in the earth; but once it has established its roots, we stop irrigation. From this, it is as Paul said: "Tongues are not a sign for the faithful but the unbelievers."[17]

 Although we assert these things, we see without any difficultly that this inquiry does not start with us. If indeed those signs are said to have been provided for the unfaithful, what does it mean then that our Redeemer was believed to be able to make just a few miracles in his own land because of man's incredulity? Thus, Mark the evangelist stated: "Many hearing him were astonished by his teaching, and said: 'From where did all these come? And what is the nature of this knowledge that has been given to him? And what great miracles did he do by his own hand? Is he not the son of a carpenter and Mary? Is he not the brother of James and Joseph and Judas and Simon? And are not his sisters with us?' and they were offended by him."[18] Where it is also written a little later: "And he was not able to perform a miracle there, except that he cured a few sick people by laying his hands on them. And on account of their disbelief he was astonished."[19] What should we make of this, brothers, that Paul asserts that a sign was given to convert the unbelievers, on the other hand, Mark asserts that signs were held back because they were faithless. Could they who were filled with the selfsame Spirit ever pronounce two entirely contradicting doctrines? But note

that among those very disbelievers there is a difference. All guilt is equal among those who do not believe but there is a great distinction to be made among the deserving: it is one thing if man is deceived by ignorance alone, but another thing entirely if he sins willfully. Paul had been in sin out of ignorance, as he said: "Before I was a blasphemer and a persecutor and a wrongful man, but for that reason I subsequently received mercy because I was acting in ignorance."[20] On the other hand, Judas sinned willingly, and for that reason, he never merited leniency. Therefore, signs were given to those without faith whom divine providence judged to receive salvation. But signs were taken away from those who were chosen by fate, on their own merit, justice pushed back the severity of their chastisement.

3. In these Christian times, however, when almost the entire world stands together in Catholic faith, and hardly any of the violence of the persecutors troubles the peace of the holy church, why then did the most blessed confessor of Christ, Barbatianus, become known by the virtues of his many miracles, if not to shine forth by virtue of his exceptional merits before the eyes of divine majesty? As was said about John, "He was an oil lamp, burning and shining,"[21] burning by the love of his heart, shining with the brilliance of extraordinary conduct. But then this lamp (Barbatianus) wished to be partial hidden, as the story of his most holy life recounts, so he hid in his cell, and avoided being revealed to the authorities. He refused to become known to the kings of the world, so that he might be able to remain within the family of the king of kings. He refused to accept temporal glory from men, in order that he might deserve to obtain eternal life with the angels.

 Namely, this pertains to those he wished to restore to health, to whom he would often bring a plaster to be put upon them or give them something to eat, as a medicinal antidote. For this reason the power of herbs or the potency of medicinal treatments is given credence, so that the restoration of health whould not be ascribed to the strength of his holiness. And so if his medicine is accepted, he seems more a physician than a saint.

 But tell me, good doctor, speak to me, venerable physician: how is it that you brought for our mortal state this compound of such potency, and of such fast-acting strength, that not in three days, not in two days, nor even in the space of a single moment, but immedi-

ately after it was applied at once all feebleness vanished and our wounded flesh returned to pristine health? Accordingly, an application is not able to cure unless it is placed directly upon the swollen injury for some time or it pours its vigor through secret channels into the inside of the body, or it transfers the pestilent humor to the outside of the body through the strength of its effect. When an antidote is taken through the mouth, there is a necessary delay before it penetrates the hidden parts of the organs through the veins and pores, or solidifies the corrupted parts of the body, or purges the swollen limbs of harmful humors. But your miraculous treatment requires no delay, nor does it seek to monitor a patient's diet, which is scrutinized by doctors: but as soon as it hits, all health is restored. I beg you, father untie, father, untie these bindings, and deliver to us the knowledge of your unparalleled treatment. Let us see the inestimable varieties of your curative spices, let us smell the most delightful sweetness of the blazing aromatics.

4. Now, brothers, hear this: let the little book of his most holy life reveal to us all of the types of spices that his method of treatment involves, let his story stand for us as most healthful remedy through those aromatics. It states among other things that a certain swollen goiter wretchedly weighted down the son of a certain Julian. The son was then brought to the holy man, after his father beseeched him tearfully on behalf of his son. The venerable man, making a compound of bread, wax and oil placed it upon his wounds, and made the sign of the cross.[22] Immediately, in that very moment, it miraculously drove out every pestilence from his throat.

 Have you heard, dearest brothers, of the kinds of curative spices our eminent doctor possessed with which a mortal wound is cured with the utmost speed? He brought forth the as a medicinal cure bread, wax and oil, which he kept on hand for sustenance; and by means of his daily nourishment he rebuffed another's death. Clearly by making use of the household ingredients, he reduced the cost for the pilgrims. One time he offered a piece of lemon to a sick man, at another a dried fig, and by such a manner of care, he restored them to their original health and drove out every type of illness. Unless I am deceived, he did this with the following intention: since both these fruits are thought to be rarer among certain people in Roman lands, they would be believed to be in some way medicinal, and afterward they would attribute the restoration of health to med-

ical treatment, and in the estimation of men his sanctity would be diminished.

5. Therefore, what will we unfortunate men say, we who will be accounted in the great judgment of the awesome Judge, we who have no miraculous powers, but nevertheless vaunt over the excellence of our merits in human eyes? Is not from desire that we strive for sanctity before the eyes of the conscience, and rejoice to falsely take the name of sanctity according to human judgment? Today, can we see such a number of men who are able to reach the incredible virtues of this remarkable man, who are able to touch the furthest part, who elevate themselves toward heaven by the strengths of their spirit? These are men who often perform with their own ability, but they strive for earth and not heaven. Certainly those desiring the praises of men, they squander for themselves the fruits of their labor; whenever they seek to exhibit themselves to other eyes, they discredit all that they do before of the sight of divine majesty.

 They always instructed others with knowledge of the sacred law, everything that they observed they furnished as evidence, and still they did not seek out a life of obedience but rather their own favor. Because they did not desire to advance by another way, except to search out for repeated praise in the hearts of their listeners, they came to nothing but tears. When the mind is occupied with external thoughts, it is not warmed by the flame of divine love, and therefore their words are brought forth by a cold heart, are unable to kindle heavenly desire in those hearing them. For that which does not kindle itself cannot ignite another. Words of hypocrites do not kindle those listening and they render worse the same man who sought to be elevated by praise. Even Paul confirms this: "knowledge puffs up, charity builds up."[23] So when charity fails to arouse those hearing the words to building them up, knowledge ruins those uttering pronouncements by puffing them up.

 The majority of the hypocrites, my brothers, afflict themselves with impressive abstinence, as they wear down the bodies's strength, and as it were, while living they completely destroy the life of flesh. And through abstinence, they approach death, so that they may live almost every day as if near dying. But they seek this out on account of human attention, they desire the glory of admiration, as confirming the truth which declares: "they ruin their faces so that they may appear as those fasting to men."[24] Their faces grow pale, their bodies

are shaken by weakness, and their chests are beset by a shortness of breath. But amidst these things, they seek a word of admiration from those nearby, and think about nothing else with so much care as they do about human estimation.

6. Carefully take note, my most beloved brothers, how wretchedly foolish it is to do toilsome things and to desire praise from the mouth of men; how laborious it is to put in practice heavenly teachings but to strive for the reward of earthly repayment. Thus as blessed Gregory said, "he who strives for the acclamation of men rather than for virtue, counts a thing of worthless value as a great merit. Where it is possible to have earned the kingdom of heaven, there he seeks the coin of temporary favor."[25] Within us, my brothers, within us, let the good things that we do be preserved, if we are to expect recompense for our good deeds from our conscience.

 For in fact it is this way that the truth is said in the gospel: "let your left hand be ignorant of what your right hand does, so that your alms may be given in secret; and your fathers see that what was in secret and will reward you."[26] For in fact the Psalmist says this about the church of the elect: "from within the daughter of the king is all glory."[27] Obviously, the daughter of the king is the holy church, which is a benefit of foremost spirituality which was born by proclamation, which cultivates itself in the virtues of holy life, because it strives through this to please God alone, it does not have glory outside but in. As to this Paul says: "For our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience."[28] The apostle speaks of his glory as a testimony of conscience, because in not seeking the favor from the mouth of another, he does not enjoy life beyond himself. Let the good which we do stay concealed, dearest brothers, lest by conducting them incautiously during the course of this life we are damned with the collapse of the souls like bandits, lest we carried by an unexpected journey in this life, we are led to destruction by the shock of rapacious souls.

 Behold this most blessed man Barbatianus, whose festival illuminates today for us, who did not seek the glory of human praise, who did not desire the attention of men, who did not wish to appear himself admirable on account of the many miracles he performed, and who did not expect to receive earthly reward for carrying out so many services for the infirm. Rather he went far beyond the kind of typical medical practice, so that he was able to hide the clearest bril-

liance of his character. So that star of heaven might break through great clouds with its strength, so that the rays of his light might shine less outwardly, and seem everywhere to be concealed, it radiated that much more fully in the face of the eternal sun.

7. Let it be pleasing, my dearest ones, to carefully examine the beautiful arrangement of divine order: clearly in this way, omnipotent God, to give light to the night of the present life, set his stars in heaven and through these he ordained them to illuminate the darkness over the entire world. In this manner, we discern through the region of the heavens the beaming of shining stars, by the uninterrupted foot of work, that we might walk our road by night. That is to say, the early morning star, preceding the sun, rises first from the eastern land, then ascends to its highest in the region of midday, at the end it lays prone in the western sky; as it is evident, the most blessed confessor of Christ Barbatianus left the territory of Antioch, where he had been born, and passing through Rome where performed many of his miracles by daylight, he finally came to Ravenna, and he introduced Christ, he who is the sun, to the many minds of men by his righteousness.[29] So it follows that he first sprung forth in splendor in Antioch, he sprinkled many little sparks of miracles in Rome, and in the city of Ravenna, his death truly illuminated through the setting of the most holy man. So it is clear on account of the merits of this most holy man, as if through the splendor of a new morning star, three regions of the world were cast in a rosy glow, so that in one part of the word his "sunrise" is seen, in a different way in another his highest point is visible, and in a third his "sunset" is celebrated.

 And as we have said before in another sermon about his fellow countryman the most holy Apollinaris,[30] where his name combined him with the morning star, in his coming to Rome Barbatianus performed his first miracle by making light visible! The empress Galla Placidia, as you all heard, humbly demanded his help for her female attendant, who was suffering from intolerable pain in her eyes.[31] He immediately instructed her to wipe her eyes with his pallium, and so immediately it cleared off all of the pestilential disease that had troubled her.

8. Since I am investigating your excellence, O happy city of Ravenna, in an interpretive mode, I examine the ways you are enriched by the most bountiful privileges of the divine mercy. For I see that because

you are an original spring of the Christian religion, you earned the honor to drink from the cup of salvation forever. In Antioch, on the other hand, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, the disciples were first called "Christians." From this foundation of the holy church, you received hewn stones, on which firm bases where erected, and with steadfast of faith and sanctity you were solidly established. Just as you hold the apostolic martyr Apollinaris, you also hold the confessor, the extraordinary Barbatianus. It is clear that he is one of the two most excellent cedars of paradise that shelter you with their protective branches. So that as long as you wish to endure humbly under them, they will save you from the raging storm's every gale. And as they would not neglect their duty that may restrain the accumulation of your happiness, they next left Antioch for Rome, which was in no uncertain measure the head and principal seat of the entire holy church, as it has remained. Without a doubt at first they would have learned in the school of Peter, which they taught you afterwards about the true doctrine. And as they drank abundantly from the purest spring which they decanted, pouring forth magisterially into you the doctrine of salvation. Following after Paul, and later Apollinaris, the first set to propagate in faith, the second was watered by the abundant rain raining of miracles and preaching. But because "neither he who plants from himself is anything, nor he who waters," likewise we say the following apostolic words: "God causes things to grow."[32]

Dearest brothers, therefore for the love of your heart choose the noble senators of the heavenly curi, and seek to imitate every aspect of their model with the devotion of your soul. For if you wish to be what they are, it is necessary for you to do as they do. Now, you most faithful, approach the ragged and poor life of labor in this age with the saints, so that in the future you shall prevail in reaching to the level of their praise.[33] As "he who says that he remains in Christ, he should then himself walk just as he walked." On the one hand, he who shuns poverty departs from the footsteps of Christ through doubt, and tramples the life of that level. On the other, the most blessed man, of whose festival we rejoice in celebrating today, did not wish for earthly honors, nor collect spurious riches, nor desire worldly glory, nor increase lands with transitory property. He scorned his relatives, abandoned his native land and completely denied himself anything for the love of Christ.

9. Therefore, let no one say that they who are killed in the name of Christ by the swords of persecution are alone held to be worthy of heavenly awards. God defines every opportunity for them to turn away from the challenge, and he barricades the refuge of human excuse for each one. Behold now we are not able to move death for God as did the blessed Apollinaris, but we are able to lead a life pleasing to God as the blessed Barbatianus did. Obviously, it is great to die for Christ, but it is not lesser to live for Christ. In either instance the scales of Paul weighs them equally, as he asserted: "No one lives by himself alone and no one dies alone; in fact as we live, we live with the Lord, and as we die, we die with the Lord. Therefore whether we live or we die, we are of the Lord."

Consequently, whoever loves martyrdom, and maintains for himself the dignity by martyrdom, in the end he will acquire the reward of martyrdom without doubt. Is it possible to establish this without blood? It is possible to strike oneself with a spear of penance, and to sacrifice in the grief of the heart. If the throat is prepared for the blow, the reward would not be lost if the sword would miss. If the executioner misses, who cuts through the outside of the neck? The judge who renders the reward of good-will is at hand.

O most beloved, following the example of the most blessed confessor of Christ Barbatianus, let us strive to shun the delights of the world, to avoid the profusion of temporal things, to repress the stimulation of the flesh and to bear the cross after Christ in the peace of the church. Since now we strive to lead a life in imitation of him, after let us be lead to the desired glory through him, as our Lord Jesus Christ grants, who lives with the Father and the Holy Spirit and is glorified through the infinite ages of the ages. Amen.

Appendix 3: Manuscripts of the *Vita sancti Barbatiani*

Compilations for Liturgical Use

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 3129 (64)[34]		(11th c.)
fol. 26r–29v	*Acta S. Barbatiani confessoris*	
	Tuscany-Emilia	
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatensis 718 (alias B. 1. 3)[35]		(11th c.)
fol. 43r–45v	*Acta S. Barbatiani ep. et conf.*	
	Pistoia	
Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 6073[36]		(late 11th/12th c.)
fol. 72v–76v	*Acta S. Barbatiani presb. et conf.*	
	Ravenna	
Ravenna, Achivio Arcivescovile di Ravenna cod. VI (2)[37]		(late 11th/12th c.)
fol. 92v–96	*Vita . Barbatiani confessoris*	
	Ravenna	
Florence, Biblioteca Madicea Laureziana, Aed. 137[38]		(late 11th/12th c.)
fol. 60r–62r	*Vita et obitus sancti Barbatiani presbyteri et confessoris*	
	Florence, S. Maria del Fiore (S. Salvi)	
Florence, Biblioteca Madicea Laureziana, Conv. soppr. 230[39]		(12th c.)
fol. 1 [extract]	*Vita sancti Barbatiani Ravennae presb.*	
	Poppi, San Fidele	

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy,*
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2

(continued)

Florence, Biblioteca Madicea Laureziana, Conv. soppr. 300[40]		(2nd q. of the 12th c.)
fol. 136v–140r	*Acta et vita sancti Barbatiani confessoris* Emilia-Romagna	
Fiesole, Archivio Capitolare Cod. XXII, 1[41]		(12th c.)
pp. 132–138	*Vita s. Barbatiani confessoris* Fiesole	
Cividale di Friuli, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. XVII[42]		a. 1252
ff. 118r–126v	*Vita et conversatio Barbatiani prb. et confess.* Bologna	
Admont, Stiftsbibliothek Admont Cod. 1[43]		(12th c.)
94r–98v	*Acta s. Barbatiani prb. et confessoris* Bologna	
Gorizia, Sem. Ms. 8[44]		(13th–14th c.)
289v–296r	*Vita s. Barbatiani* [cofess. Xpi] Bologna	
New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.373[45]		(first half of 14th c.)
234r–234v	*In sci barbatiani prs et conf* Bologna Includes only abridged selections from the third and fourth chapters of the *Vita Barbatiani* in the Sanctoral	

Hagiographical and Non-Liturgical compilations

Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek, Ba 2		*(15th c.)*
fol. 193r–195v	*Acta S. Barbatiani confessoris* Copied from Brussels 3129	
Venice, B. N. Marciana, lat. IX 16 (2943)		(15th c.)
fol. 352r–354r	Manuscript of the *Legendae de Tempore* of Petrus Calo Includes only the epitome of the *vita*	
Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Lat. 371 X. P.4.9 (*Codex Estensis*)[46]		(15th c.)
fol. 60r–62r	*Vita et actus sancti Barbatiani sacerdotis atque cunfessoris* Ravenna Likely copied from the manuscript in the Achivio Arcivescovile	

(*continued*)

(continued)

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 3527 (8990–91)		(17th c.)
Collectanea Bollandiana[47]		
fol. 161r–171r	*Vita S. Barbatiani* (ex Bodecensis coenbii … passionali pergameno ms insigni mensis decembris) *Vita S. Barbatiani* (ex codice bibliotheca vaticane no 6073) *Prologus in vitam S. Barbatiani* (ex ms. Langobardo monasterii monialium S. Ioannis ordinis S. Benedicti Capuae)[48]	

Vernacular Translations

Venice, B. N. Marciana, ital. V.32 (5647)[49]		(15th c.)
fol. 41r–44v	*L'istoria da san Baruzian, Arziveschovo de Revena* Veneto	

Notes

1. Rome, Bib. Casanat. Ms. 718: "Here begins the deed of St. Barbatianus, bishop and confessor."
2. Boniface I, 418–422.
3. In an epigram of Eugenius of Toledo, "On the Quality of Citrus," he writes: "Pulchra cute, carne duclis, et acerba medullis." (Lovely in skin, sweet in flesh, and bitter in pith) *MGH AA* 14, p. 261; in John Hymmonides the Deacon's poem on the Cena Cypriani, he notes that it is the *citrum* that Adam eats (rather than the *fructus* as it appears in the Vulgate). *MGH Poetae* 4, p. 876, line 40: *Adam citrum manducavit*. Peter Damian's sermon uses the same phrase of *citri peciam* (4).
4. The Latin texts here are quite corrupted and provide a number of different rendering of the passage. The problem lies in the interpretation of the Greek "ἔμφραξις" a stoppage or blockage (used in Sophronius), and rendered as *empsicheam* in the Lanzoni's edition, *empreisineam* in Bacchini's edition, *enfraxin* in Anastasius. The *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, derives the term *empsicheam* from the Greek ἔμψυχος, "having life in

one, animate," perhaps "full of vitality"; the explanation is that "ubi *Empsichea Emensitas* tantam videtur aegrotantis maciem indicare, ut solus in eo spiritus superesse videatur, quales fere sunt, qui laborant ectica" (III.43).

5. The term for litter used here, *furibum*, appears rarely in medieval sources. There is no comparable phrase in Anastasius's translation.
6. That is, a dried fig from the Aegean. Most of its appearance in Latin manuscripts points to its medicinal use such as in the fifth century *De medicina* of Cassius Felix.
7. John 5:8.
8. Asahel was the nephew of David; 2 Sam 2:18.
9. "dicebat enim quia si vel vestimentum eius tetigero salva ero." Mark 5:28.
10. Lanzoni suggests that it should be read as *ergodosium*, the Greek term ἐργοδόσιον for workshop; the term is a Byzantine Greek term; the other solution offered by Lanzoni is that this is a misreading of *ergasterium*, a "medical office or surgery" (*officina del medico*) ἐργαστήριον. This meaning of ergasterium is preserved by Anastasius in his translation of the miracles of Cyrus and John: *ergasterium, id est locus medicinalis.*
11. Mark 5:28; Matt 9:21.
12. Described in the Acts of Pilate and the *Vita Veronicae*.
13. Some manuscripts give the date as December 31.
14. Luke 2:16.
15. Matt. 25:21.23.
16. Matt. 7:22–3.
17. 1 Cor 14:22.
18. Mark 6:2–3.
19. Mark 6:5.
20. 1 Tim. 1:13.
21. John 5:35.
22. *VB* 11.
23. 1 Cor. 8.1.
24. Matt. 6.16.
25. Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* VIII.43.
26. Matt. 6.3–4.
27. Ps. 44.14.
28. 2 Cor. 1.12.
29. This progression from Antioch, to Rome, and Ravenna, is equally promoted in Damian's second sermon on Apolloniaris: "Gaudeat Antiochia, quae talem meruit gignere filium; exulted Roma, quae talem potuit habere discipulum: praecipue urbs Ravenna, quae tantum meruit referre patronum." Peter Damian, *Sermo* 31.1.9–12.

30. Peter Damian has three sermons dedicated to Apollinaris (*sermo* 30, 31, and 32).
31. Here, Damian uses the term *regia* rather than *augusta* found in the *VB* and the *LPR*; this event is recorded in Chap. 4 of the *VB*.
32. 1 Cor 3.7.
33. I John 2.6
34. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae bruxellensis*: *pars I. codices latini membranei*, (Bruselles 1886), 3–23.
35. Albertus Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanae* (Brussels: Society of the Bollandists, 1909), 231–43. This manuscript is the first part of a two volume passionaries dating to the second quarter of the twelfth century. The manuscript was bought in Pistoia in 1744, and likely also was connected to the purchase of a giant two-volume bible and a two-volume homilary. What is clear from the hagiographic program is that the work was created with Tuscany, and especially Pistoia, in mind. The connection with Rufinus is argued as "a clear indication that the manuscript was made for Pistoiese use, so is Mustiola of Chiusi, who in Northern Tuscany is only found in Pistoiese works." Knut Berg, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Books, 1968), 302–3.
36. Poncelet, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, 159–64.
37. Giovanni Nino Verrando, "Due leggendari ancora inediti conservati a Ravenna e a Fano," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 53 (1999): 503.
38. Guglielmetti, *I testi agiografici latini nei codici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, 85–93.
39. Ibid., 237–42. This is a single-sided leaf which conserves only the first page of the text.
40. Ibid., 298–321.
41. Giovanni Nino Verrando, "I due leggendari di Fiesole," *Aevum* 74 (2000): 474–91. The text follows Florence, Biblioteca Madicea Laureziana, Aed. 137 without variation.
42. Cesare Scalon and Laura Pani, *I codici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Cividale del Friuli* (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), 127–29.
43. Jakob Wichner, "Catalogus codicum manu scriptum Admontensis," (Admont 1888), 2.
44. Emidio Goi, "Catalogo dei codici liturgici aquileiesi ancora esistenti," *Quaderni di cultura* 19 (1966): 13. Goi offers the label of the manuscript as "passionale latino 3°" of the Archivio della Chiesa Metropolitana in Grorizia. This manuscript is the second volume in a two-part lectionary containing hagiographical texts not partial calendrical order beginning with the *passiones* of Euphemia, Dorothea, Thecla and Erasma, virgin mar-

tyrs from Aquileia (feast on September 3) and the *passio* of the apostle Matthew (September 21) and ends with vita of Victor Maurus of Milan (May 8). Clearly part of the Aquileian liturgical tradition, the sole description of this manuscript suggests that it belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth century (based on its gothic miniscul). This manuscript is the last of the *legendaria* that was designed to be used in liturgical settings (as opposed to those created as exhaustive or inclusive hagiographic compilations in the fourteenth to seventeenth century or the *Codex Estensensis*). It is exceptional in this regard, as well as that it marks the shift in script, as it was the first in a Gothic hand.

45. According to the curatorial record of the manuscript, and based on the inclusion of the Offices of Corpus Christ and some of the dates in the calendar, the manuscript dates from first half of the fourteenth century. Morgan Library, "Curatorial Description of M. 373: Breviary for Ravenna Use, preceded by a Kalendar for the Carmelite Church of Santa Maria in Porto." The feast for Barbatianus is included in the calendar which begins the manuscript: "IIII nonas (January 2) Barbatiani conf. et. ste."
46. The contents of the *Codex Estensis* were published in the editions of the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna by Testi-Rasponi, Holder-Egger and Daliyannis, with the latter providing the locations of the editions and publications, primarily in the *RIS* of Muratori. "Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis," vi–viii; Holder-Egger, "'Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis,'" 264–66; Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 91–92.
47. J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalgue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, *t. 5*: *Histoire – Hagiographie* (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1905), 637.
48. This is an incorrect attestation; it refers to a vita of a bishop of Benevento named Barbatus.
49. Dalarun and Leonardi, *Biblioteca Agiografica Italiana II*, 83–4.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Agnellus of Ravenna. 2006. *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis, CCCM 199. Turnhout: Brepols.

Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis. 1924. In *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Nuova Edizione 2.3*, ed. Alessandro Testi Rasponi. Bologna.

Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis. 1878. In *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, 265–381. Hannover: MGH.

Ravennatis Liber Pontificalis; *sive Vitae pontificum Ravennatum*. Modena: Typis Antonii Capponii impressoris Episcopalis, 1708. Trans. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Agnellus of Ravenna*: *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004.

Benericetti, Ruggero, ed. 2006. *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*. Faenza: University Press Bologna.

———, ed. 1999. *Le carte del decimo secolo nell'archivio arcivescovile di Ravenna I: 900–957*. Ravenna: Società di Studi Ravennati.

———, ed. 2002. *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo: Archivio Arcivescovile II: aa. 957–976*. Faenza: University Press Bologna.

———, ed. 2002. *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo*: *Archivio Arcivescovile III*: *aa. 976–999*. Imola: University Press Bologna.

———, ed. 2003. *Le carte ravennati del secolo undicesimo: Archivio Arcivescovile I: aa. 1001–1024*. Faenza: University Press Bologna.

Berner of Homblieres. *Translatio corporis sanctae Hunegundis virginis apud Viromanduos*, ed. J. P. Minge, *PL* 137, 59–72.

Constantius of Lyon, *Vita sancti Germani*, ed. René Borius, *Vie de Saint Germain d'Auxerre*. Source Chrétiennes 112. Paris, 1965. In *Soldiers of Christ*: *Saints*

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy,*
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2

and Saints Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head, Trans. F. R. Hoare, 75–106. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

Evergates, Theodore, Giles Constable, and William Mendel Newman, ed. 1990. *The Cartulary and Charters of Notre-Dame of Homblières.* Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America.

Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, edited Bruno Krusch, *MGH SS rer. Merov* I.2, 294–370. Trans. Raymond van Dam, *Glory of the Confessors.* Translated Texts for Historians. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988.

Hugutius of Pisa, *Agiographia*, ed. Giuseppe Cremascoli. De dubio accentu, Agiographia, Expositio de sympolo Apostolorum. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1978.

Federici, Placido, ed. 1781. *Rerum pomosianarum historia*, Vol. 1. Rome: Antonio Fulgonium.

Federici, Vincenzo, ed. *Regesto di S. Apollinare nuovo*. Roma: Istituto Storica Italiano, 1907. Liudprand of Cremona, Antapodosis. Liudprandi Cremonensis Opera, ed. P. Chiesa, CCCM 156, Turnhout: Brepols, 1998; Trans. Paolo Squatriti, The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona. Medieval Texts in Translation. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007.

Peter Chrysologus. *Sermones*, edited by A. Olivar. CCL 24, 24A, and 24B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1975–83. Trans. William B. Palardy, Selected Sermons, Fathers of the Church, A New Translation 109. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004.

Peter Damian. 1983. *Sermones.* ed. Giovanni Lucchesi. CCCM 57. Brepols: Turnhout.

Peter Damian, *Vita beati Romualdi.* ed. 1957. Giovanni Tabacco. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia: Rome.

Rauty, Natale, ed. 2003. *Documenti per la storia dei Conti Guidi in Toscana: Le origini e i primi secoli, 887–1164.* Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Samartini, Antonio, ed. 1963. *Regesta Pomposiae*. Rovigo: S.T.E.R.

Schiaperelli, Luigi, ed. 1903. *I diplomi di Berengario I* (*sec. IX–X*), Fonti per la storia d'Italia 35. Istituto Storico Italiano: Rome.

———, ed. 1906. *I diplomi di Guido e di Lamberto* (*sec. IX*), Fonti per la storia d'Italia 36. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano.

Sophronius of Jerusalem. 1975. *Narratio miraculorum sanctorum Cyri et Joannis*, ed. Fernández Marcos, Natalio, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*: *Contribución al esudio de la incubatio cristiana*. Madrid: Instituto "Antonio de Nebrija".

Vita sancti Barbatiani, edited by Francesco Lanzoni. Gli "Acta s. Barbatiani Presbyteri et Confessoris". *Rivista di Scienze Storiche* 6 (1909): 635–658, 712–34.

Vita santi Probi episcopi Ravennati, edited by Hippolyte Delehaye and Paulo Peeters. "De S. Probo episcopo ravennate." In *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, *t. IV*, 475–482. Brussels: Socieity of the Bollandists, 1925. In *Rerum italicarum scriptores 1.2*, ed. Ludovico Muratori, 554–557. Milan, 1725.

Vita sancti Sylvestri papae et confessori. 1910. In *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum II*: *Novam hanc editionem curaverunt duo monaci Solesmenses*, ed. Boninus Mombritius, 508–516. Paris: Fontemoing et Socios.

Vita sancti Silvestri papae Romae. In *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore*: *textes grecs*, ed. François Halkin, 20–33. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1985; in *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum II*: *Novam hanc editionem curaverunt duo monaci Solesmenses*, ed. Boninus Mombritius, 508–516. Paris: Fontemoing et Socios, 1910.

Secondary Sources

Alcock, Anthony. The Repose of St John the Evangelist and Apostle. http://www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/The-Repose-of-John_alcock_2013.pdf.

Andreescu-Treadgold, Irina. 1995. The Emperor's New Crown and St. Vitalis' New Clothes. In *Seminario internazionale sul tema*: "*Ravenna*, *Costantinopoli*, *Vicino Oriente*"; *Ravenna*, *12–16 settembre 1994*; *in memoria di Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann*, ed. Raffaella Farioli Campananti, 149–186. Ravenna.

Augenti, Andrea, Ilaria Begnozzi, Mila Bondi, Enrico Cirelli, Debora Ferreri, Cecilia Malaguti, and Paolo Scozzari. 2012. Il monastero di San Severo a Classe: risultati delle campagne di scavo 2006–2011. In *Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, *L'Aquila*, *12–15 settembre 2012*, Vol. 6, 238–245. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.

Bannister, Emily A. 2011. 'From Nitria to Sitria': The Construction of Peter Damian's *Vita Beati Romualdi*. *European Review of History* 18: 499–522.

——— 2010. 'A Monastic Ark against the Current Flood': The Manuscripts of Peter Damian at the Abbey of Montecassino. *European Review of History* 17: 221–240.

Barnish, S.J.B. 1985. The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius: Late Antique Banking and the Mediterranean Economy. *Byzantion* 55: 6–38.

Barret, Sébastian. 2003. Cluny and les Ottoniens. In *Ottone III e Romualdo di Ravenna: Imperio, monasteri e santi asceti: Atti del XXIV Convegno del Centro Studi Avellaniti*, 179–215. Verona: Gambrielli.

Barrow, Julia. 2008. Ideas and applications of reform. In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Vol. 3, *Early Medieval Christianities c. 600–c. 1100*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith, 345–362. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bartlett, Robert. 2013. *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Belting, Hans. 1990. *Likeness and Presence*: *A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Benericetti, Ruggero. 2008. Componenti cronologiche e topografiche delle carte di Ravenna per una vita di San Romualdo. *Studi Romagnoli* 59: 483–499.

———. 1994. *Il pontificale di Ravenna: studio critico*. Faenza: Seminario Vescovile Pio XIII.

Berg, Knut. 1968. *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Books.

Bergamaschi, Gianni. 2014. Culti transappenninici in Toscana: testimonianze liturgiche e agio-toponomastiche. In *Tra due Romee: Storia, itinerati e cultura del pellegrinaggio in val d'Orcia*, eds. Renato Stopani and Fabrizio Vanni, 157–204. Rome: Centro studi Romei.

Bergamo, Nicola. 2009. La spedizione di Baduario: L'ultimo tentativo armato bizantino per cacciare i Longobardi dall'Italia. *Studi sull'Oriente cristiano* 13: 63–74.

Berschin, Walter. 1990. Bonifatius Consiliarius: Ein römisher Übersetzer in der byzantinischen Epoche des Papsttums. In *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert*, eds. Albert Lehner and Walter Berschin, 25–40. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag.

———. 1988. *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*. Trans. Jerold C. Frakes. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press.

Bollandistes, Société des. BHLms: Index analytique des Catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques latins publiés par les Bollandistes. http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/.

Bovini, Guiseppe. 1969. La recente identificazione del "Monasterium sanctorum Johannis et Barbatiani" d'eta placidiana a Ravenna. *Starinar* 20: 23–24.

Bowes, Kim. 2008. *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brenk, Beat. 2010. *The Apse, the Image and the Icon: An Historical Perspective of the Apse as a Space for Images*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.

———. 2011. Apses, Icons and 'Image Propaganda' before Iconoclams. *Antiquité Tardive* 19: 109–130.

Brown, Peter. 1981. *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1971. The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity. *Journal of Roman Studies* 61: 80–101.

Brown, Thomas S. 1991. Ebrei e orientali a Ravenna. In *Storia di Ravenna: II.1 Dall'età Bizanina all'èta Ottoniana: Territorio, economia e società*, ed. Antonio Carile, 135–154. Ravenna: Marsilio Editore.

——— 1984. *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800*. Rome: British School at Rome.

——— 1986. *Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*: Agnellus of Ravenna's View of the Past. In *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350–900*, ed. C. Holdsworth, 107–114. Exeter: University Publication.

Brubaker, Leslie. 2009. Gesture in Byzantium. *Past and Present* 203: 36–56.

———. 1997. Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Female Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. In *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James, 52–75. London: Routledge.

Buc, Philippe. 1995. Italian Hussies and German Matrons: Luitprand of Cremona on Dynastic Legitimacy. *Frümittelalterliche Studien* 29: 207–225.

Buzzi, Giulio. 1915. Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dell' 850 al 1118. *Archivio della reale società Romana di storia patria* 38: 107–213.

Carlà, Filippo. 2010. Milan, Ravenna, Rome: Some Reflections on the Cult of the Saints and on Civic Politics in Late Antique Italy. *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 2: 197–272.

Carty, Carolyn M. 1999. The Role of Medieval Dream Images in Authenticating Ecclesiastical Construction. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62: 45–90.

Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae bruxellensis: pars I. codices latini membranei. Bruselles, 1886.

Cavarra, Bernice, Gabriella Gardini, Giovanni Battista Parente, and Giorgio Vespignani. 1991. Gli archivi come fonti della storia di Ravenna: regesto dei documenti. In *Storia di Ravenna: II.1 Dall'età Bizantina all'età Ottoniana*, ed. Antonio Carile, 401–548. Ravenna: Comune di Ravenna; Marsilio Editori.

Christie, Neil. 2005. Charlemagne and the Renewal of Rome. In *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story, 167–182. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Colantuono, Maria Incoronata. 2000. Il Breviario pomposiano ms. Udine, Bibl. Arcivescovile, 79. In *Guido D'Arezzo: Monaco Pomposiano*, ed. Angelo Rusconi, 185–200. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Connor, Carolyn L. 2004. *Women of Byzantium*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Constable, Giles. 1980. Eremitical Forms of Monastic Life. In *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente, 1123–1215*, 239–264. Milan: Vita e Pensiero [Reprint, Giles Constable, *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988].

———. 1988. Forged Letters in the Middle Ages. In *Fälschungen im Mittelalter, t. 5. MGH Schriften 33*, 11–37. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung.

———. 1983. Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages. *Archiv für Dilpolmatik* 29: 1–41.

Cowdrey, H.E.J. 1970. *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cubitt, Catherine. 2002. Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England. In *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe, 423–454. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dalarun, Jacques, and Lino Leonardi, eds. 2003. *Biblioteca Agiografica Italiana II*. Florence: Galluzzo.

Deichmann, F.W. 1972. Studi sulla Ravenna scomparsa. *Felix Ravenna* 103: 61–112.

Deichmann, Friedrich W. 1972. Studi sulla Ravenna scomparsa. *Felix Ravenna* 103–104: 61–112.

Delehaye, Hippolytus. 1929. L'hagiography ancienne de Ravenne. *Analecta Bollandiana* 47: 5–30.

Deliyannis, Deborah Mauskopf. 2001. "Bury Me in Ravenna?" Appropriating Galla Placidia's Body in the Middle Ages. *Studi medievali* 42(3): 289–299.

———. 2010. *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dinkler, Erich. 1964. *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe*. Cologne: Westdeuscher Verlag.

Dionisotti, A.C. 2005. Translator's Latin. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 129: 357–375.

Donnini, Mauro. 1994. Galla Placidia nelle fonti latine medievali, umanistiche e rinascimentali. *Studi medievali* 35: 695–722.

Duffy, John. 1984. Observations on Sophronius "*Miracles of Cyrus and John*". *Journal of Theological Studies* 35: 71–90.

Duhr, Joseph. 1932. La concile de Ravenne in 898: La réhabilitation du pape Formose. *Recherches de science religieuse* 22: 541–579.

Theseider, Duprè, and Eugenio. 1963. Ottone I e l'Italia. In *"Renovatio Imperii" Atti della giornata internazionale di studio per il millenario*, 97–145. Faenza: Fratelli Lega.

Fabri, Girolamo. 1664. *Le sagre memorie di Ravenna antica*. Venice: Fracesco Valuasense.

Fabri, Paolo. 2004. L'età antica e medievale. In *La mura nella storia urbana di Ravenna*, ed. Paolo Fabri, 11–97. Ravenna: Società di studi ravennati.

Fantuzzi, Marco. 1801–1804. *Monumenti ravennati de' secoli di mezzo per la maggior parte inediti*, vol 6. Venice: Francesco Andreola.

Farmer, Sharon. 1991. *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Fasoli, Gina, ed. 1993. *Vitale e Agricola: Il culto dei protomartiri di Bologna attraverso i secoli nel XVI centerario della translatione*. Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane.

Fernández Marcos, Natalio. 1975. *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*: *Contribución al esudio de la incubatio cristiana*. Madrid: Instituto "Antonio de Nebrija".

Forrai, Réka. 2008. *The Interpreter of the Popes: The Translation Project of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*. PhD Thesis, Central European University.

Fouracre, Paul. 1999. The origins of the Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints. In *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, eds. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Anthony Hayward, 143–166. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Franke, Walter. 1913. *Romuald von Camaldoli und seine Reformtätigkeit zur Zeit Ottos III.* Berlin: Matthiesen Verlag.

Franklin, Carmela Vircillo. 2004. *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian: Hagiographic Translations and Transformations.* PIMS: Studies and Texts. Toronto.

Geary, Patrick J. 1978. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

——— 1988. Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, 169–194. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

——— 1996. Saints, Scholars, and Society: The Elusive Goal. In *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca, 1–22. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies.

Gillett, Andrew. 2003. *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411–533.* In *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Through, 4th Series.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2001. Rome, Ravenna, and the Emperors. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69: 131–167.

Gioanni, Stéphane. 2010. Hagiographie d'Italie (300–550): II. Les Vies de saints latines composées en Italie de la Paix constantinienne au milieu du VIe siècle. In *Guy Philippart*, ed. V. Hagiographies. Turnhout: Brepols.

Goi, Emidio. 1966. Catalogo dei codici liturgici aquileiesi ancora esistenti. *Quaderni di cultura* 19: 1–22.

Golinelli, Paolo. 1980. *Culto dei santi e vita cittadina a Reggio Emilia: secoli IX–XII.* Modena: Aedes Muratoriana.

———. 1994. Italia Settentrionale (1130–1220). In *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550, Vol. 1*, ed. Guy Philippart, 125–153. Turnhout: Brepols.

Guglielmetti, Rossana E. 2007. *I testi agiografici latini nei codici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*. Florence: Sismel.

Guillot, Olivier. 1989. Les saints des peuples et des nations dans l'Occident des VIe—Xe siècles: un aperçu d'ensemble illustré par le cas des Francs en Gaule. In *Santi e demoni nell'Alto Medioevo occidentale, secoli V–XI*, 205–251. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo.

Guillou, Andre. 1963. Grecs de l'Italie du Sud et de Sicile au Moyen Âge: les moines. *Melanges de l'École française de Rome* 75: 9–110.

Hahn, Cynthia. 2012. *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204.* State College: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Hamilton, Bernard F. 1970. The House of Theophylact and the Promotion of the Religious Life Amoung Women in Tenth Century Rome. *Studia Monastica* 12: 195–217.

——— 1979. *Monastic Reform, Catharism, and the Crusades (900–1300)*. Variorum Collected Studies Series 97. Farnham: Ashgate.
——— 1962. The Monastic Revival in Tenth Century Rome. *Studia Monastica* 4: 35–68.
Hamilton, Sarah. 1996. Otto III's Penance: A Case Study of Unity and Diversity in the Eleventh-Century Church. In *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. Robert N. Swanson. Studies in Church History 32, 83–94. Oxford: Blackwell.
———. 2001. *The Practice of Penance: 900–1050*. Woodbridge: Boydell.
Harries, Jill. 1992. Christianity and the City in Late Roman Gaul. In *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. John Rich, 77–98. London: Routledge.
Head, Thomas. 1997. Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier. *Gesta* 36: 65–82.
Head, Thomas. Discontinuity and Discovery in the Cult of Saints: Apulia from Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages. *Hagiographica* 6: 171–211.
Heffernan, Thomas J. 1988. *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Heliot, Pierre. 1961. L'abbaye d'Homblières et la châsse de sainte Hunégonde aux X^{e} et XI^{e} siècles. *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 119: 226–233.
Helvétius, Anne-Marie. 2012. Hagiographie et réformes monastiques dans le monde franc du viie siècle. *Médiévales* 62: 33–47.
Herbers, Klaus. 2003. Le Liber Pontificalis comme source de réécritures hagiographiques (IXe–Xe siècles). *Beihefte der Francia* 58: 87–107.
Herrick, Samantha Khan. 2007. *Imagining the Sacred Past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Herrin, Judith. 2013. *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Holder-Egger, O. 1878. Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis. In *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, 265–381. Hannover: MGH.
Howe, John. 1983. The Awesome Hermit: The Symbolic Significance of the Hermit as a Possbile Research Perspective. *Numen* 30: 106–119.
———. 1997. *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and his Patrons*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
———. 1988. The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church. *American Historical Review* 93: 317–339.
Humphries, Mark. 1999. *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200–400*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hunter, David G. 2007. *Marriage, Celibacy and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy*. Oxford Early Christian Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Ihm, Christa. 1960. *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

Iogna-Prat. 1988. *Agni immaculati: Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à Saint Maieul de Cluny (954–994)*. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf.

James, Liz. 2005. The Empress and the Virgin in Early Byzantium: Piety, Authority, and Devotion. In *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki, 145–152. Aldershot: Ashgate.

James, N.W. 1993. Leo the Great and Prosper of Aquitaine: A Fifth-Century Pope and his Adviser. *The Journal of Theological Studies* 44(2): 554–584.

Jones, Charles W. 1978. *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan: Biography of a Legend*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kessler, Herbert L., and Johanna Zacharias. 2000. *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kinney, Dale. 2002. The Horse, the King and Cuckoo: Medieval Narrations of the Statue of Marcus Aurelius. *Word & Image* 18: 372–398.

Klein, Holger A. 2006. Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople. *BYZAS* 5: 79–99.

Knipp, David. 2002. The Chapel of Physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56: 1–23.

Krönert, Klaus. 2012. Réformer la vie monastique ou réformer l'Empire? La Vie d'Eigil de Fulda par Brun Candidus (vers 840). *Médiévales* 62: 49–65.

Kruger, Steven F. 1992. *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kuefler, Mathew. 2014. *The Making and Unmaking of a Saint: Hagiography and Memory in the Cult of Gerald of Aurillac*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lampe, G.W.H. 1961. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lanéry, Cécile. 2010. Hagiographie d'Italie (300–550): I. Les Passions latines composées en Italie. In *Hagiographies V*, ed. Guy Philippart, 15–369. Turnhout: Brepols.

Lanzoni, Francesco. 1909. Gli "Acta s. Barbatiani Presbyteri et Confessoris". *Rivista di Scienze Storiche* 6: 635–658; 712–734.

Laqua, Hans Peter. 1976. *Traditionen und Leitbilder bei dem Ravennater Reformer Petrus Damiani, 1042–1052. Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, Bd. 30*. Munich: Fink.

Leyser, Conrad. 2010. Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona, c.890–c.970. *The English Historical Review* 105: 795–817.

Leyser, Henrietta. 1984. *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Licciardello, Pierluigi. 2011. Il culto dei santi nei manoscritti medievali dell'abbazia di San Fedele di Strumi-Poppi. *Hagiographica* 18: 135–196.

Licence, Tom. 2011. *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950–1200*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lifshitz, Felice. 1994. Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative. *Viator* 25: 95–114.

Loewenfeld, S. 1884. Acht Briefe aus der Zeit König Berengars gedruckt und erläutert in: Ceriani e Porro, Il rotolo opistografo del principe Antonio Pio di Savoja. *Neues Archiv* 9: 513–539.

Lucchesi, Giovanni. 1975. Il sermonario di s. Pier Damiani come monumento storico, agiografico e liturgico. *Studi gregoriani per la storia della "Libertas ecclesiae"* 10: 7–68.

———, ed. 1983. *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones*, CCCM LVII. Turnhout: Brepols.

Mackie, Gillian. 1990. New Light on the So-Called Saint Lawrence Panel at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna. *Gesta* 29(1): 54–60.

MacLean, Simon. 2010. Legislation and Politics in Late Carolingian Italy: The Ravenna Constitutions. *Early Medieval Europe* 18: 394–416.

———. 2014. Palaces, Itineraries and Political Order in the Post-Carolingian Kingdoms. In *Diverging Paths? The Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam*, eds. John Hudson and Ana Rodríguez, 291–320. Leiden: Brill.

Mancia, Lauren. 2015. John of Fécamp and Affective Reform in Eleventh-Century Normandy. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 37: 161–179.

Markus, Robert A. 1997. *Gregory the Great and his World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mazzotti, Mario. 1973. Elenco delle chiese ravennati attraverso i secoli. *Felix Ravenna* 105–106: 219–256.

———. 1954. *La basilica di Sant'Apollinare in Classe*. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana.

McNair, Fraser. 2015. A Saint, an Abbot, his Documents and her Property: Power, Reform and Landholding in the Monastery of Homblières under Abbot Berner (949–982). *Journal of Medieval History* 41: 155–168.

Miladinov, Marina. 2008. *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West*. Zagreb: Leykam International.

Miller, Leo F. 1944. Missal W.11 of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. *Traditio* 2: 123–154.

Miller, Maureen. 1993. *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

———. 2014. *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800–1200*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Miller, Patricia Cox. 1994. *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Momigliano, Arnaldo. 1990. *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Montanari, Giovanni. 1992. Culto e liturgia a Ravenna dal IV al IX secolo. In *Storia di Ravenna II.2: Dall'età Bizantina all'età Ottoniana: Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, ed. Antonio Carile, 241–282. Ravenna: Marsilio Editori.

———. 2002. L'apside di S. Apollinare in Classe di Ravenna: Mistero centrale, anamnesi ed eucaristia. In *Ravenna: L'iconologia: Saggi di interpretazione culturale e religiosa dei cicli musivi*, 149–171. Ravenna: A. Longo.

Moreira, Isabel. 2000. *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Morgan Library. Curatorial Description of M. 373: Breviary for Ravenna Use, preceded by a Kalendar for the Carmelite Church of Santa Maria in Porto. http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0373a.pdf.

Morini, Enrico. 1992. Le strutture monastiche a Ravenna. In *Storia di Ravenna II.2*: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, ed. Antonio Carile, 305–322. Ravenna: Comune di Ravenna; Marsilio Editori.

———. 1992. Santi Orientali a Ravenna. In *Storia di Ravenna II.2*: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, ed. Antonio Carile, 283–322. Ravenna: Comune di Ravenna; Marsilio Editori.

Müller, Claudia. 1980. Das Apsismosaik von S. *Apollinare in Classe: Eine Strukturanalyse. Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 75: 11–55.

Müller, Wolfgang P. 1991. Huguccio of Pisa: Canonist, Bishop, and Grammarian? *Viator* 22(1): 121–152.

——— 1994. *Huguccio: The Life, Works, and Thought of a Twelfth-Century Jurist*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press.

Muratori, Ludovico, ed. 1725. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 1.2*. Milan: Ex typographia societatis palatinae in regia curia.

———. 1723. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 2.1*. Milan: Ex typographia societatis palatinae in regia curia.

Muratori, Santi. 1908. I sarcofagi ravennati di San Rainaldo, di S. Barbaziano e del Beato Pietro Peccatore e le ultime ricognizioni. *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 2: 324–337.

Natalibus, Petrus de. 1493. *Catalogus Sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diversis voluminibus collectus*.

Neil, Bronwen. 2009. *Leo the Great*. Early Church Fathers. London: Routledge.

———. 2006. The Miracles of Saints Cyrus and John: The Greek Text and Its Transmission. *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 2: 183–193.

———. 2006. *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs*: *The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*. Studia Antiqua Australiensia, 2. Turnhout: Brepols.

Noble, Thomas F. X. 2012. Images, a Daydream, and Heavenly Sounds in the Carolingian Era: Walahfrid Strabo and Maura of Troyes. In *Envisioning Experience in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*: *Dynamic Patterns in Texts*

and Images, ed. Giselle de Nie and Thomas F. X. Noble, 23–45. Farnham: Ashgate.

Novara, Paola. 2003. *Ad religionis claustrum construendum: Monasteri nel medioevo ravennate: Storia e archeologia*. Ravenna: Fernandel.

Oost, Stewart Irvin. 1968. *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Orioli, Giorgio. 1984/1985. Cronotassi dei vescovi di Ravenna. *Felix Ravenna* 127(130): 323–332.

Pasolini, Pietro Desiderio, ed. 1881. *Documenti riguardanti antiche relazioni fra Venezia e Ravenna*. Imola: D'Ignazio Galeati e Figlio.

Pelà, Maria Cristina. 1970. *La decorazione musiva della basilica ravennate di S. Apollinare in Classe*. Bologna: Editrice Pàtron.

Perry, K. 2005. Vegetarianism in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: The Transmission of a Regimen. In *Feast*, *Fast and Famine*: *Food and Drink in Byzantium*, ed. W. Mayer and S. Trzcionka. Byzantina Australiensia, 171–187. Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies.

Peyer, Hans Conrad. 1955. *Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterlichen Italien*. Zurich: Europa.

Philippart, Guy. 2004. Saints Here Below and Saints Hereafter: Towards a Definition of the Hagiographical Field. *Studia Liturgica* 34: 26–51.

Picard, Jean-Charles. 1976. Espace urbain et sépultures épiscopales à Auxerre. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 62: 205–222.

———. 1988. *Le souvenir des évêques: Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle*. Rome: École française de Rome.

Pierpaoli, Mario. 2000. La costruzione di San Giovanni Evangelista secondo il Codice Classense 406: Traduzione del Tractatus hedificationis et constructionis Ecclesie Sancti Iohannis Evangeliste de Ravena. *Ravenna Studi e Ricerche* 7: 17–44.

Pini, Antonio Ivan. 1999. *Città*, *chiesa e culti civici in Bologna medievale*. In *Biblioteca di storia urbana medievale 12*. Bologna: CLUEB.

Plummer, John. 1964. *Liturgical Manuscripts for the Mass and the Divine Office*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library.

Poncelet, Albertus. 1910. *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*. Subsidia Hagiographica 11. Brussels: Society of the Bollandists.

———. 1909. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanae*. Brussels: Society of the Bollandists.

———. 1910. Le légendier de Pierre Calo. *Analecta Bollandiana* 29: 5–116.

———. 1910. Review of Francesco Lanzoni, *Il "Liber Pontificalis" Ravennate*, *Gli Acta sancti Barbatiani presbyteri et confessoris*, and *Un antico vescovo d'Imola*. *Analecta Bollandiana* 29: 166–168.

Rapp, Claudia. 2005. *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rauty, Natale. 1996. I Conti Guidi in Toscana. In *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo: Marchesi, conti e visconti nel regno italico (secc. IX–XII)*, 241–264. Rome: Instituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo.

———. 2009. Fonti documentarie e narrative per la storia dei conti Guidi in Toscana. In *La lunga storia di una stirpe comitale*, ed. Federico Canaccini, 61–69. Florence: Olschki.

Remensnyder, Amy G. 1995. *Remembring Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval and Southern France*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Ronchini, Massimo. 2010. *Le carte ravennati del secolo undicesimo: Archivio Arcivescovile II (aa. 1025–1044)*. Faenza: University Press Bologna.

Ropa, Giampaolo. 1991. Agiografia e liturgia a Ravenna tra alto e basso Medioevo. Chap. 341–394. In *Storia di Ravenna III*: *Dal mille alla fine della signoria polentana*, ed. Augusto Vasina. Ravenna: Marsilio.

———. 1986. Cultura liturgica ravennate e pomposiano-ravennate nei secoli Xl e XII. In *La civiltà comacchiese e pomposiana dalle Origini preistoriche al Tardo Medlòevo*: *Atti del convegno naziònale di studi storici* (*Comacchio 17–19 maggio 1984*), 561–606. Bologna.

Rubeus, Hieronymus. 1572. *Historiarum Ravennatum*. Venice: [Paulus Manutius].

Ruggini, Lelia. 1959. Ebrei e orientali nell'Italia settentrionale fra il IV e il VI secolo d. *Cr. Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iruis* 25: 185–308.

Rugo, Pietro. 1976. *Le iscrizioni dei sec. VI–VII–VIII esistenti in Italia. Vol. 3, Esarcato, Pentapoli e Tuscia*. Cittadella: Bertoncello Artigrafiche.

———. 1976. *Le iscrizioni dei secoli VI–VII–VIII esistenti in Italia*. Vol. 3, *Esarcato, Pentapoli e Tuscia*. Cittadella: Bertoncello Artigrafiche.

Salisbury, Joyce E. 2015. *Rome's Christian Empress: Galla Placidia Rules at the Twilight of the Empire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sansterre, Jean-Marie. 2003. Le monachisme bénédictin d'Italie et les bénédictins italiens en France face au renouveau de l'érémitisme à la fin du X^{e} et au XI^{e} siècle. In *Eremites de France et d'Italie (XI^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)*, ed. André Vauchez, 29–46. Rome: École française de Rome.

———. 1989. Otton III et les saints ascètes de son temps. *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 43: 377–412.

Savigni, Raffaele. 2007. Giovanni IX da Tossignano, arcivescovo di Ravenna (Papa Giovanni X) e i sui rapporti con la corte ducale spoletana. In *Ravenna e Spoleto: I rapporti tra due metropoli*, ed. Maurizio Tagliaferri, 215–246. Imola: University Press Bologna.

Scalon, Cesare, and Laura Pani. 1998. *I codici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Cividale del Friuli*. Florence: SISMEL.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. 1983. *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schoolman, Edward. Forthcoming. Engineered Holy Authority and the Tenth-Century *vita* of St. Barbatianus of Ravenna.

———. Forthcoming. The Intersection of Greek Language and Identity in Early Byzantine Italy.

———. Forthcoming. "The Monastic Conversion of Romuald of Ravenna and the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe."

———. Forthcoming. Nobility, Aristocracy, and Status in Early Medieval Ravenna. In *Ravenna*: *Its Role in Medieval Change and Exchange*, ed. Judith Herrin and Jinty Nelson.

Schramm, Percy Ernst. 1929. *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des romischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches biz zum Investiturstreit*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Sergi, Giuseppe. 1999. The Kingdom of Italy. In *The New Cambridge Medieval History. vol. III, c. 900–c. 1204*, ed. Timothy Reuter, 346–371. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sibra, Graziella. Lombardia Beni Culturali: Chiesa di S. Barbaziano. http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/architetture/schede/MI100-07356/.

Sirago, Vito Antonio. 1961. *Galla Placidia e la trasformazione politica dell' Occidente*. Leuven: Bureau de recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université.

Sivan, Hagith. , 2011. *Galla Placidia*: *The Last Roman Empress*. Women in antiquity. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sot, Michel. 1981. *Gesta Episcoporum*, *Gesta Abbatum*. Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental. Turnhout: Brepols.

Strittmatter, Anselm. 1948. Notes on an Eleventh-Century Missal, Walters Manuscript 11. *Traditio* 6: 328–340.

Talbot, Alice-Mary. 2002. Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracles Accounts. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56: 153–173.

Taylor, Anna. 2013. Hagiography and Early Medieval History. *Religion Compass* 7: 1–14.

Testi-Rasponi, Alessandro. 1908–1909. Note marginali al 'Liber pontificalis' di Agnello ravennate. *Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, *3rd ser.* 27: 86–104, 225–346.

Thacker, Alan. 2012. Patrons of Rome: The Cult of Sts Peter and Paul at Court and in the City in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. *Early Medieval Europe* 20: 380–406.

———. 2000. *Pecularius patronus noster*: The Saint as Patron of the State in the early Middle Ages. In *The Medieval State*: *Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. John R. Maddicott and David M. Palliser, 1–24. London: Hambledon Press.

Thompson, Augustine. 2005. *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian communes, 1125–1325*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Thompson, E.A. 1984. *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britian. Studies in Celtic History.* Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press.

Tomea, Paolo. 2001. L'agiografia dell'Italia Settentrionale (950–1130). In *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550.* Vol. 3, ed. Guy Philippart, 99–178. Turnhout: Brepols.

Torre, Augusto. 1963. Ravenna e l'imperio. In "Renovatio Imperii" Atti della giornata internazionale di studio per il millenario, 5–14. Faenza: Fratelli Lega.

Urbano, Arthur. 2005. Donation, Dedication and *Damnatio Memoriae*: The Catholic Reconciliation of Ravenna and the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13: 71–110.

Dam, Van, and Raymond. 1993. *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

van de Vorst, Charles. 1910. La Vie grecque de S. Léon le Grand. *Analecta Bollandiana* 29: 400–408.

Van den Gheyn, J. 1905. *Catalgue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, t. 5: Histoire – Hagiographie.* Brussels: H. Lamertin.

Vasina, Augusto. 1985. Gerberto arcivesco di Ravenna. In *Gerberto: Scienza, storia e mito*, 255–272. Piacenza: Archivi Storici Bobiensi.

———. 1978. La fortuna di Agnello ravennate fino al XVI secolo. In *Lineamenti culturali dell'Emilia-Romagna: Antiquariato, erudizione, storiografia dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, ed. Augusto Vasina, 107–111. Ravenna: Longo.

———. 2005. Ravenna e la renovatio imperii ottoniana. In *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale*, 135–154. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo.

Vauchez, André. 1981. *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge.* Rome: Ecole Française de Rome.

———. 1997. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages.* Trans. Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Verhoeven, Mariëtte. 2011. *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformation and Memory.* In *Architectural Crossroads: Studies in the History of Architecture 1.* Turnhout: Brepols.

Verrando, Giovanni Nino. 1999. Due leggendari ancora inediti conservati a Ravenna e a Fano. *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 53: 485–523.

———. 2000. I due leggendari di Fiesole. *Aevum* 74: 443–491.

———. 1990. S. Timoteo e il suo Martyrium sulla via Ostiense. *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome* 102: 845–864.

Waldner, Katharina. 2012. Visions, Prophecy, and Authority in the *Passio Perpetuae*. In *Perpetua's Passions: Mulidisciplinary Approaches to the Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Marco Formisano, 201–219. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wallis Budge, E.A. 1913. *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*. London: British Museum.

Warner, David A. 1999. Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III. *Journal of Medieval History* 25: 1–18.

——— 2006. The Representation of Empire: Otto I at Ravenna 961–964 and 966–972. In *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500*, eds. Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean. Turnhout: Brepols.

Wichner, Jakob. 1888. Catalogus codicum manu scriptum Admontensis. Admont.

Wood, Ian. 2002. Constructing Cults in Early Medieval France: Local Saints and Churches in Burgundy and the Auvergne 400–1000. In *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe, 155–187. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zirardini, Antonio. 1908–1909. *De antiquis sacris Ravennae aedificiis: liber posthumus*. Ravenna: Claudio Zirardini.

Index

A
Adomnan of Iona, 106
Ado of Vienne, 58
Alberic, count of Tusculum, 36
Ambrose of Milan, 13, 55
Anastasius Bibliothecarius, translator, 5, 12, 99
Andrew, 114
Apollinaris of Ravenna, 2, 51, 52, 66, 130
 inventio of 1173, 24
 ninth-century translation of, 52, 142
 passio, 54, 60, 82
 relics of, 24, 51, 53
 translatio, 51, 56, 59

B
Baduarius, Byzantine official, 22
Barbatianus, 21
 church dedicated to, 22, 34, 81, 86, 91, 104, 129
 inscription relating to, 23, 81
 monastery of, 34, 38, 40, 91
 name, 13
 relics of, 23, 24
 sermon on, 126
 vita, 77; date of composition, 28, 80; editions of, 78
Basilica Ursiana (Cathedral of Ravenna), 24, 58, 62, 63
Berner, abbot of Homblières, 146
Bologna, 130
Bonifatius Consiliarius, 99
Bruno of Querfurt, 66

C
Camaldoli, 67
Carolingians, 83
Charlemagne, 83
Cluniac reform, 67, 85
Cluny, 34
Codex Estensis, 50, 65, 77
Constantius III, 3, 6, 7
Constantius of Lyon, 1, 9
Conti Guidi, noble family, 133

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

E.M. Schoolman, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2

D
Dominic of Sora (saint), 148

E
easterners in Italy, 4
 Syrians, 3
Ecclesius, bishop of Ravenna (522–532), 112
Eleuchadius, bishop of Ravenna, 128

F
Faenza, 39
Ferrara, 28, 130
Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, 8
Fonte Avellana, 67

G
Galla Placidia, 2, 5, 127
 imperial family of, 94
 in the letters of Leo I, 7
 medieval depiction of, 109
Gebhard, archbishop of Ravenna (1027–1044), 40
George, archbishop of Ravenna (ca. 837–846), 83
Gerald of Aurillac (saint), 148
Gerbert d'Aurillac, archbishop of Ravenna (998–999), 26, 30, 33
Germanus of Auxerre, 1, 6, 9
 relics of, 10
Gervasius and Protasius, 25, 51, 55, 57
 passio, 55, 82
Gregory I, pope (590–604), 14, 35
Gregory of Tours, 11, 21, 144

H
Honestus, archbishop of Ravenna (971–983), 26, 29, 58
Honorius, emperor, 3, 6
Hugutius of Pisa, 129
Hunegund (saint), 145, 146

I
Imola, 38

J
Jacobus de Voragine, 11, 144
John Fécamp, 36
John the Evangelist, 95, 108
 relic (sandal) of, 12, 105
John VII, archbishop of Ravenna (850–878), 26, 59
John IX, archbishop of Ravenna (905–914), 26
John X, archbishop of Ravenna (983–998), 30
 Justinian
 depiction of, 112

L
Legenda Aurea. *See* Jacobus de Vorgaine
Leo I, pope (440–461), 1, 6, 7
Leone, archbishop of Ravenna (999–1001), 29
Liber pontificalis, 2, 8, 13, 93
Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis, 2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 21, 35, 50, 56, 60, 142
 as source for hagiography, 56, 62
 sources for, 81
Liudprand of Cremona, 26

M
Maiolus of Cluny, 37
Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, 12. *See* Santa Croce

Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna (546–556), 54
Milan, 3, 25, 51, 55, 147
miracula of Cyrus and John, 2, 79, 80, 92, 98. *See also* Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem and hagiographer

N
Naples, 14

O
Odo of Cluny, 36, 147
Otto I, 28, 30, 141
 depiction of, 111
Otto II, 31
 depiction of, 111
Otto III, 31

P
Paul the Deacon, 12
Pavia, 29
Peter, apostle, 52
Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna (426–450), 2, 6, 7
 relic (sandal) of, 143
 sermons of, 7
 vita, 56, 64
Peter Damian, 31, 34, 66, 126, 148
Peter IV, archbishop of Ravenna (927–971), 26, 28, 31, 33, 63
Pomposa, 31, 34, 37, 38
Probus, bishop of Ravenna, 30, 56
 relics of, 30, 62, 63
 vita et inventio, 56
proskynesis, 110

R
Rainaldo da Concorezzo, archbishop of Ravenna (1303–1321), 115
Ravenna, 24
 canals of, 105
 Carolingians in, 83
 hagiographic traditions in, 51, 130, 141–142
 Ottonian court in, 29, 31, 32, 141
 reform efforts in, 34, 36, 65
 rivalry with Milan, 25, 51, 55, 57
relics, 114, 139
 imperial interest in, 10
 sandal, 106. *See also* John the Evangelist
Rome, 3, 52, 55
 monasteries in, 36
Romuald, 31, 34, 35, 66, 148, 149
 vita, 66

S
San Bartolomeo in Pistoia, 133
San Fidele di Strumi, 133
San Giovanni Evangelista, 12, 95, 97
San Michele in Africisco, 22
San Paolo fuori le mura, 3, 6, 8
 decoration, 8
San Salvi, 133
San Severo, 31
Santa Croce, 8, 12
Santa Euphemia, 61
Santa Maria Antiqua, 98
Santa Maria in Cereseo, 31
Sant'Apollinare in Classe, 22, 37, 59
 decoration, 53
 monastery of, 29, 31, 34, 35, 62, 66, 84
Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, 24, 52, 53, 59
 monastery of, 59
San Vitale, 22, 38
 decoration, 112

sarcophagus, 63, 149
Sergius, archbishop of Ravenna (744–769), 62
Severus, bishop of Ravenna, 55, 130
 translatio, 83
 vita, 56
Sidonius Apollinaris, 4
Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem and hagiographer, 5, 99
Sylvester, pope (314–335), 92
 vita, 92, 93

T
Theodora, senatrix of Rome, 26
Theodoric, 53, 60
Theodosius I, 7, 8
Theodosius II, 6, 7
Theophano, 32
Tractatus constructionis Ecclesie Sancti Iohannis Evangeliste, 107. *See also* John the Evangelist
translation, 99, 103

U
Ursicinus, bishop of Ravenna (533–536), 58
Ursicinus, martyr, 25, 57
 passio, 56–58
 relics of, 30

V
Valentinian III, 3, 7
Valeria. *See* Vitalis, martyr
Valerius, archbishop of Ravenna (ca. 789–810), 62
Vallombrosian order, 134
Verona, 147
Vitalis, martyr, 55, 57, 130